

# Preface

“Bṛahmaṇḍa His Life and Literature” closely follows the pattern of my similar book on Bhavabhūti.

I have tried to make the book as exhaustive and informative as possible. My main object is to place in the hands of University students, a detailed discussion on the author and his works, and to present before them a fairly exhaustive critical review of the work done in this field till now. I hope the work will interest also the general reader.

Many of the B. A. or M. A. students study at places where library facilities are moderate. Some students earn while they learn, and to them even time becomes a rare commodity. I have tried to furnish them with the views of the earlier scholars in the field, and often given numerous quotations from their works. I have tried to meticulously acknowledge the grateful debt to them at all such places. For any omissions, I express here a deep sense of gratitude to all the Purvṣans who have given me so much light. I must specially mention here the debt I owe to the works of Mm. Dr. P. V. Kane and Dr. K. R. Potdar.

I do not claim much originality, but discerning readers, I trust, will find that I have made some little contribution of mine to the subject. I would be very happy and grateful to have all constructive criticism and suggestions, which I would utilise for improvement in the second edition.

The references cited in the book are to the following editions: (1) Kadambarī ed. Dr. P. L. Vaidya (O. B. A. Poona), (2) Harṣa-  
charita ed. Acarya Jagannatha Pathak (Caukhamba Edn.), (3) Parvatipariṇayam (Nirṇavasagara Edn.). I have not given a subject-index at the end in view of the detailed Table of Contents.

My sincere thanks are due to my friend Shri T. A. Kulkarni, B. Sc. (Hons.) B. Ed., Proprietor, Nutan Printing Press, and also to his entire staff for an efficient and quick printing of this book. Last but not the least, come my thanks to all Professors, students and lovers of Sanskrit, whose generous patronage I have enjoyed all these years in all my literary undertakings, as a proud privilege.

1st January 1963

134, Thalakhadi, B-1gaum }

S. V. Dixit

# ERRATA

[ For economy of space the Errata, showing the important corrections necessary, is presented here in a compressed form, each unit showing page, line, mistake and correction in sequence. Obvious misprints, which can be easily corrected are not mentioned.]

2-25 manuscript (manuscript)—3-13. (put fullstop after 'learning'—  
 3-23. aad (and)—3 29 ०कुलपुत्रो (०कुलपुत्रो)—6 32 भवु (भवु)—  
 8-30 ecpleted (completed)—8 32 & 37 (add 't' at the end of  
 either line)—9-27 ०मुदयाचार्य ० मुदयाचार्य—11-2 ond (and)—13 6  
 callad (called)—14-15 सिहन दवाक्येषु (सिहनादवाक्येषु)—16 6 दिशाद०  
 (विषाज०)—16-31 not ant (not an)—24-5 (read last two words  
 as 'regarding in' )—24-23, wha (what)—28-5 accended (ascended)  
 29-8 ths (the)—29 13 (drop 'he' after ग्रहवर्मा)—29-17 commen-  
 tatoe (commentator)—29-18. corroborater (corroborates)—30-16  
 folowed (followed) 32-13 Harsa (Harsa's)—32-33 (after 'कुले  
 जाता put a dash )—32 35 aethologies (anthologies)— 37-27.  
 ०मुचस्तु० (०मुचस्तु०)—38 1 Bapa's (Bapa)— 38-24 admriator  
 (admiration)—40-3 aestheite (aesthetic)—40-5 Keith (Keith)—  
 40-8 mistakesn (mistaken)—40-11 othres (others)—40-11 argu-  
 ment's (arguments) 40-29 वत्सालव० (वत्सालव०)—44 3(i) mariag  
 (marriage)—44 31 grace (grace)—48-32 (inverted commas after  
 life)—50-6 ०महोष० (०महोष०)—53 4 सरस्वनी (सरस्वती)—53 20  
 (Drop 'i' before चित्रप्राप्तुः)— 54-7 Empeorears० (Emperor's ears) ,  
 56-11 call of (call on)- 56-15 (put ',' after while)—62-15 wan-  
 dening (wandering)— 66 10 . कर ( पुष्पाकर )—66 16 (drop  
 comma after उद्भट० ) -68 25 Aptty (Aptly)- 69-32 passeed  
 (passed)—75-25 (read 'to the north')—77-15 (read told)—77-31  
 can (could)— 80-13 ande (and)—83-36 through (threw) 86-23  
 ०न्दिकः (०न्दिक's)—95 15 tostay (to stay)—96-29 sincerel over  
 (sincere lover)—97 5 Bom (Born)—106-12 (read 'Vilasavati')—  
 106 13 suppresed (suppressed)—107-4 darung (darling)—109 34  
 —vayantly (—vagantly)—112 26 -stic (-stics)—112 77 पारि० (परि०)  
 113 6 he (the)—115 19 Gandarva- (Gandharva-)- 116 35 /read  
 हारि विगत्यघो)—118 16 ०भारवे (०भारवे)—120 5 wa (was)—122 17  
 enters in (enters in)—123 9 cousins (cousins')—127 23 anff (and)  
 —127 36 [put (3) before 'the']—131 12 ande lothing (and clothing)  
 —133 8 Bapa's (Bapa's)—136 33 (read 'शरद् reason )— 138-11  
 flowsrs (flowers)

मातापितृभ्यां समर्पितम्

# **.TABLE OF CONTENTS.**



Chapter	Title	Pages.
I	<b>BĀṆABHAṬṬA'S BIOGRAPHY.</b> (Introductory remarks Biographical account given by Bāṇabhaṭṭa. Other points indirectly derived: Information about Bhūṣaṇabhaṭṭa and Mayūra ).	1— 11
II	<b>BĀṆABHAṬṬA'S DATE</b> ( Bāṇa's date definitely fixable. Bāṇa the court-poet of Emperor Harṣa of Sthāṇvisvara. Memoirs by Hiuen Tsang about the Harṣa Era: Corroborative evidence for Bāṇa's Date Discussion about authors or works mentioned by Bāṇabhaṭṭa. Vyāsa and his Bhārata, the Ākhyāyikākāraḥ, Vāsavadatta, Bhattarāhari-candra, S'atavāhana, Pravarasena's, Setubandha, Bhaṣa, Kālidāsa, Brhatkatha and Ādhyarāja.	12 - 24
III	<b>ABOUT EMPEROR HARṢA</b> ( Ancestry of Harṣa: Genealogical tree and personal and historical details about leading personalities in the family: Harṣa's accession and rule Relations with Guṇḍa and Maukharis: Harṣa defeated by Pulakeśin II Harṣa's capital and caste. Harṣa as king and administrator Harṣa as a poet and patron of literature Harṣa's Date )	25— 35
IV	<b>BĀṆA'S WORKS</b> ( Harṣacarita. Kādambari, Caṇḍikā, S'ivaśataka, Mukutaśatitaka, Sarvacarita,	36— 47

Saradacandrikā Padyakadambari A Vedantic work Parvatīpariṇaya A detailed a study of the Pārvatīpariṇaya its authenticity, its plot, appreciative remarks Alleged authorship of Ratnavali )

— V THE HARŚACARITA 48— 67

(Introductory A detailed summary of Harṣacarita Characterisation and character-sketches Commentaries on Harṣacarita Miscellaneous points )

VI THE KĀDAMBARI 68—100

(Introductory A detailed Summary of Kadambari narrative Sources The Kathasaritsagara story of King Sumanas Bana's handling of this source Critical remarks on Kadambari sentiments Defects Supernatural element Bhūṣaṇabhaṇa's literary art Characterisation and Charactersketches Commentaries on the Kadambari Works connected with or based on Kadambari story Miscellaneous points )

VII BĀṆABHATTA AS A LITERARY ARTIST 101—121

(Bana's style, puns and allusions long compounds vocabulary figures of speech humour plot construction descriptive power characterisation sentiments treatment of love Nature descriptions Observation of man an nature Weber's criticism criticised Drawbacks of Bana's art Metrical note Bana's Literary Views Bana's Learning Bana's Religion Epilogue )

VIII SOCIETY IN BĀṆABHATTA'S WORKS 122—143

(Introductory The People and their Professions Social Customs and Manners Saṁskaras and

*Ceremonials: Sports and Amusements: City-life and Country-life: Learning and Literature: Civil and Military Administration: Religious Conditions: Beliefs and Superstitions: Philosophy and Ethics )*

IX	KATHĀ AND AKHYĀYIKĀ ( The divisions of Kāvya: Kathā and Ākhyāyikā; various definitions of these discussed ).	144—147
X	(A) SANSKRIT PROSE ROMANCE ( Sanskrit Prose Literature; Its main streams: The Sanskrit Prose Romance: An account of its Genesis and Development: The important works in this branch of Sanskrit Literature ).	148—155
	(B) THE HISTORICAL KĀVYA ( Origin and growth of the Historical Kāvya: The important works in this branch of Sanskrit Literature. )	156—158
	Appendix A : Alaṅkāras and Subhāṣitas in Bāṇabhaṭṭa's Works ( Part I Alaṅkāraḥ; Part II Subhāṣitas ).	159—163
	Appendix B : Encomia to Bāṇabhaṭṭa by the Ancients.	163—166
	Appendix C : A Select Bibliography.	166—168



# BĀNABHATTA:

## His Life and Literature.

### Chapter I.

#### BĀNABHATTA'S BIOGRAPHY

“ अस्ति कविसार्वभौमो वत्सान्वयजलधिसम्भवो बाणः ।

नृत्यति यद्रमनाया वेद्येमुखलासिका बाणी ॥ ”

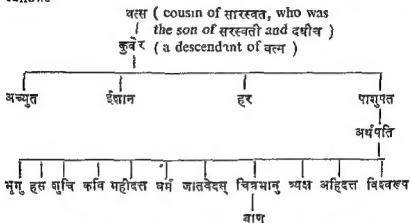
—पार्वतीपरिणये (१४)

Sanskrit writers generally prefer to remain silent about their personal life and surroundings. In many cases we hardly know much beyond their names, while in some cases we get just a few details about their lives and times. Tradition and legend often try to make up for the lack of reliable biographical information, and then it becomes quite a job for the research scholar to separate the grain of truth from the chaff of fancy in such cases. Generally biographical information about Sanskrit authors has to be pieced together from . (1) The information directly supplied by an author, (2) the information indirectly available from his works, (3) the information supplied by other authors about a particular author and (4) information available from contemporary or subsequent records like grants, inscriptions and the like.

But there are a few Sanskrit authors who have been more communicative about their personal account. Prominent amongst such authors who give considerable information about themselves are : (1) बाणभट्ट ( who gives considerable information about himself in his हर्षचरित and कादम्बरी ), (2) विल्हण ( in his विष्णुसाहस्रनामचरित ), (3) मञ्जु ( in his श्रीकण्ठचरित ), (4) बाक्यनि ( in his गौडवहो ), (5) मञ्जुभूति ( in his महावीरचरित, मालतीपावय and उत्तररामचरित ) and (6) दण्डिन ( in his अवन्तीमुन्दरीक्या ). Bāṇabhaṭṭa stands almost at the head of such self-communicative Sanskrit authors. He gives considerable information about himself, his ancestors and his surroundings in his हर्षचरित, in the first two उच्छ्वास and part of third उच्छ्वास).

He gives a brief personal account about himself in the introductory verses to his *Kadambari* (cp verses 10, 13, 16 and 19) We shall first sum up the information which we get from the poet's own pen —

The genealogical details available in the *Harṣacarita* are as follows



In the *Kadambari* we get Kubera's mention to start with. He is described as a ब्राह्मण belonging to the वात्स्यायन गोत्र, who was honoured by many गुप्त kings. His son is said to be अर्धपति, अर्धपति's son चित्रमानु and चित्रमानु's son बाण. Thus we find that in *Kadambari* introductory verses the name of पाशुपत is missing. It is strange to suppose that Bāṇabhaṭṭa (or acc to some Bhāṇabhaṭṭa, who composed these verses) forgot this illustrious ancestor of his. Very probably a verse describing पाशुपत was missing in the mss used for preparing the printed editions of *Kadambari* as Mm P V Kane suggests. We feel that this verse was lost very early, otherwise by now we would have recovered it from some manuscript or other.

To hark back to the detailed account in *Harṣacarita* once more, we learn therefrom that वत्स, the progenitor of Bāṇa's family lived at प्रीतिरूढ ( alias प्राज्ञगामिका ) on the banks of हिरण्यवाट ( alias योग ). Bāṇa's mother राजदेवी died when he was yet a child.



So Bana's father acted both father and mother to him, and Bana was very fond of his father. But unfortunately Bana lost his father also when Bana was about fourteen years old (Bana's misfortunes in childhood, and especially his loss of both his parents has probably inspired the poignant description of the parrot's childhood in his *Kadambari* (cp Paras 23 and 33 of *कादम्बरी*). The parrot's account has much autobiographical interest. Bana's description of Sona in his *हृयचरित* reminds one of *Bhavabhūti's* partiality for *गोदावरी*—both due to close childhood associations.

After Bana lost his father, he led a wandering life for some time. This was due to a boyish curiosity, unchecked by any firm controlling guardian hand, than to any need to earn wealth or learning. Bana, on his own authority, had a rich heritage of both wealth and learning (cp 'स. वाल्तया निघ्नतानुपगतो देशान्तरावलोकन-कौतुकाक्षिप्तहृदयः सत्स्वापि पितृपितामहोपात्तेषु ब्राह्मणजनोचितेषु विभवेषु सति चाविच्छिन्ने विद्याप्रसङ्गे गृहान्तरिणः ।—हृयं० I. Bana was thus born with a proverbial silver spoon in his mouth, and in him was seen the union of *श्री* and *सरस्वती* which is so rare in this world (cp. *Vikramorvashya* V 24, *Raghu* VI 29). But in spite of such a prosperous background, Bana developed a strong curiosity to see the world at large and he travelled in a miscellaneous company. The list of Bana's companions makes a very interesting reading and contains all sorts of persons from various walks of life, reminding one of Chaucer's plan of the *Canterbury Tales*, where Chaucer has described about twenty-nine persons going on a pilgrimage. Here is the list of Bana's companions.—“*अभवत्चास्य सयमं समाना कुहूद महायास्व । तथा च । म्यातरी पारशवी चद्रसनमातृपेणौ गायकविरीसान पर मित्रम, प्रणयिनी रत्नासयणी, विद्यायी वारवाणवासवाणो, वर्णकविर्वर्णभारत, प्राकृतकृत्युल्लुपुगो वायुविकार बन्दिनावनट्यवाणसूचीवाणी, कायायनिका चक्रवाकिका, जाटगुलिको मयूरद, ताम्बूलदायकदचण्डन भिषकपुत्रो मन्दारक पुस्तकवाचक मुद्रुष्टि, वरादश्चामीकर, हूरिक सिन्धुपेण, लेखको गोविन्दक, चित्रहृदीरवर्णी, पुस्तककुमारदत्त, मार्दिङ्गिको जीमूत गायत्री सामिलप्रहादियौ, सैरवरी कुरङ्गिका, वाणिनी मधुरपारावती, गायत्री पाष्यायी ददुरक सवाटिका केरलिका, रामकपुवा ताण्डविक आशिक आसण्डन,*

वित्ता नीमक, शैलालियुवा गिम्पडक, मतशी हरिणिका, पारागरी मुमति,  
 धापका नीरदक, बचको जयमन गैको बन्धपोष, मन्ताधक कराल, अमुर-  
 विवरब्धमनी लोहिताक्ष, धातुवादविद्धिहङ्गम, दादुरिको दामोदर, ऐन्द्रजालि  
 पद्मनाराक्ष, यरवरी ताम्रचूडक । ' [of these companions four viz  
 मधुकर, पारावत सूचीवाल and सुदृष्टि are mentioned in एषचरि III  
 pp 139-140 another interesting point is that amongst बाण's  
 companions there are four ' बाणस' viz वारवाण, वारवाण, अनन्दाबाण  
 and सूचीबाण Bapa's son is said to be भूषणबाण Why so many बाण's"]

Bapa's early wandering life was obviously not to the liking of  
 his elder relatives or friends cp अणाच्च निरवग्रहो जट्वानिध मयधोर  
 नन स्वैरिणा मनसा महतामुपहास्यताम ।-हृष I p 67 But we can say  
 at this distance of time that they really made Bapa as we know  
 him The spark of genius is always inborn but the vast knowledge  
 of the world rich experience of life and close acquaintance with  
 man and nature in an abounding variety which Bapa acquired  
 during these sojourns made him one who has seen life closely and  
 seen it whole No other Sanskrit author could probably claim  
 to have read the book of life so closely as Bapabhaṭṭa Bapa  
 returned after his wanderings to प्रीतिवृत् ( or बाह्यण पित्रात् ) with a  
 rich harvest of wisdom and experience and with broadened sym-  
 pathies and widened outlook And we reap the harvest of Bapa's  
 vast experience of life in his works which are a standing evidence  
 to his प्रीतिवृत्, सुप्रति and जम्मा Bapa in these wanderings saw  
 life in courts and countryside in seats of learning and in far off  
 forest hamlets He learnt much of life and returned with a  
 mature mind though young in years cp अथ तं तं तं तं तं तं तं तं

One summer day, Bana was resting after his mid-day meal, when his cousin चन्द्रसन, ushered in a messenger from कृष्ण, a brother (or cousin) of Emperor Harsha. The messenger handed over a letter to बाणभट्ट from कृष्ण. In the letter बाण was requested to bear the oral message of कृष्ण from मल्लक the messenger, and then to act up on it quickly. In the oral message Bana was informed that some wicked persons had poisoned Harsha's mind against Bana. But Krishna, knowing Bana's real nature and worth, had interceded on Bana's behalf with the king and the king was inclined to accept Bana's innocence and goodness. So Bana, without losing any time, should personally come to the royal court and pay his respects to the king. We are not informed how or why exactly Krishna got interested in Bana, and how he could vouchsafe for Bana's ability and integrity. We cannot say that Bana's father or some other ancestor had already made a mark at the court and had won royal patronage and so Krishna could know and speak for young Bana's qualities from personal knowledge. For Bana's own evidence is against such an assumption. 'अतिगम्भीर महाराज कुलम् । न च मे तत्र दूतचतुरपप्रबन्दिता प्रीतिः, न कुलकामगता गतिः न बालसंवासेह, न गान्धीर्यम्, न शत्रुबलभयपरिवारः । - हर्ष II p 89 )

(We can only venture a guess that Krishna must have been probably a personal friend and admirer of Bana's father, and was keen to see that young Bana makes good)

When Bana got Krishna's message, Bana pondered for a while with hesitation and misgivings as to how he would be received at the royal court. But finally he decided to leave for the court. And after performing some auspicious rites, set out on the journey. On the third day he reached the camp of हर्ष, who was then camping near the town of मन्तिार on the banks of अजिरावती (modern Rapti)

When Bana was presented to Harsha, who had with him the prince of Malava Harsha received Bana somewhat coldly, seeming displeased. He remarked to the Malava prince 'महान अयं दूतः' (He is a thorough *petit maître*) Bana with a wounded pride, replied with a calm dignity " नाहं हि सामर्थ्या सम्भावयितुम्-

विशिष्टमिव । श्राद्धानोऽस्मि जातः सोमपायिना वसे वास्वायनानाम् । यथावाल-  
मुपनयनादयः कृताः मस्काराः । सम्यक् पठितः सादृशो वेदः । श्रुतानि यथाशक्ति  
शास्त्राणि । दारपरिग्रहाम्यागारिकोऽस्मि । वा मे भुजङ्गता । — हर्ष II p. 129.  
Harṣa must have been impressed by this spirited plea. Bāṇa soon  
became a great favourite of Harṣa and basked in the sunshine of  
royal favour ( cp. “ स्वर्णरेव च ह्रीभिः परमप्रीतेन प्रमादजन्मनो मानस्य  
प्रेम्णो विलम्बस्य द्रविणस्य नर्मणः प्रभावस्य च परा कोटिमानीयत नरेन्द्रेणेति । ”  
हर्ष II p. 134 ).

After securing royal favour and patronage, Bāṇa returned to  
his native place. He was received very cordially by his relatives  
and friends. The reader मुद्रुष्टि entertained him to a recital of  
वायुपुराण. The bard मूचिवाण recited two verses in āryā metre,  
which referred to the life of हर्ष. All were delighted to hear these.  
Bāṇa's cousins (sons of his paternal uncles) गणपति, अधिपति, तारापति  
and श्यामल looked at each other and then श्यामल, the youngest  
( and obviously Bāṇa's pet ) requested Bāṇa to narrate the story  
of Harṣa's life from the beginning. Bāṇa pleaded his inability to  
do justice to such an exalted theme and personage; but promised  
to narrate a part of it. ( This by the way should explain why  
Harṣacarita was left incomplete by Bāṇa ). But as the day was far  
advanced, he began his narrative the next morning. Here ends the  
autobiographical information in the हर्षचरित.

About Bāṇa's later life we do not know much. He had  
obviously married even before he went to the court of Harṣa, as  
could be seen from his address of self-defence to Harṣa given  
above. He had at least one son, who later completed his  
Kādambarī, which he left incomplete due to the cruel hand of death.  
The Harṣacarita also is incomplete, but this seems to be left so  
intentionally, as Bāṇa had a limited plan, as seen above. He  
only dwelt on the early life of his patron, the later life was too  
well known and too contemporary to be written about. The name  
of Bāṇa's Guru is generally taken to be ऋषु ( which occasionally is  
read as ऋषु, ऋषु or ऋषु ) Bāṇa has paid homage to his Guru in  
Kādambarī ( int. v 4 ) : “ यथापि ऋषीरव रक्षाभ्युज्ज्वल्य गतेऽप्येवमोत्तरिभिः

वृत्ताचंनम् । समस्तनामन्तविरीन्वेदिवाविन्दस्पीडोऽष्टितारणादगुलि ॥" A few stray verses are found in literature, which are attributed to भवु ( cp Nos 513 and 1838 in मुद्रापितावलि of वल्लभदेव—' काम प्रियानपि प्राणान् विमुञ्चति मनस्विन । इच्छन्ति न त्वमित्रेभ्यो मर्त्यीमपि सत्कियाम् ॥ ' and ' आहूतोऽपि सहायरेमीत्युक्त्वा विमुक्तनिद्रोऽपि । यन्तुमना अपि पथिवः सकोच नैव शिथिलयति ॥ " These verses occur also in शाद्वर्गपरपद्धति Nos 252, 3932 )

Bāṇa had two half-brothers, born of a śūdra woman. Their names were चन्द्रसेन and मानुषेन. The four cousins of बाण are already referred to above. The family seat since the days of वल्म, the progenitor of the family was प्रीतिकूट on the west bank of the river हिरण्यवाह. In the vicinity of this place there were two villages named मन्मदूट and यष्टिगृह, beyond which lay the realm of Harṣa at that time. According to आचार्य पाठक Bāṇa returned to his native प्रीतिकूट after Harṣa's death and he wrote his two great works there.—But we have no proof for this view.

Bāṇa, as mentioned earlier, seems to be a man of means, in general contrast to most Sanskrit poets. In his Harṣacarita his family is described as a family rich in wealth and learning. And Bāṇa himself became a protégé of Emperor Harṣa and was in a very prosperous condition. We learn that Emperor Harṣa had conferred upon Bāṇa the title ' वर्यगणीवविचक्रवर्तिन् ' ( Sovereign Lord of poets who are masters of speech ) and Bāṇa's two works fully justify this description of him. We get this information about अवनिषववर्तिन नरेन्द्रवर हर्ष patronising Bāṇa and conferring on him the title वर्यगणीवविचक्रवर्तिन from the Karnataka Prācātānta of the poet Durgasimha who flourished at the time of the Calukya king Jayadekamalla II. Bāṇa had also the epithet तुरङ्ग बाण given to him by some Pandit on account of his striking description of the horse इन्द्रायुध.

{ Bāṇa was a very learned person. He had a deep knowledge of Śruti, Smṛti, Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, the various Dārganas, grammar, rhetoric and the like. We shall revert to a detailed

discussion of this topic later in this book Bāṇa was a great devotee of Śiva, though no bigot by any manner or means. Actually he seems to be Vedantic in his outlook. Even this topic would be taken up in detail later in this book.

"Before we close the account of Bāṇa's life", to reproduce the late Prin Gajendragadkar's words, "we want to point out one tendency which we have noticed in बाण by a perusal of his works. In those memorable lines from 'The Fall of Hyperion' Keats has declared that none but those to whom the miseries of the world are misery, and will not let them rest, can usurp the height in the temple of Sarasvatī, which is attained by real poets. Keats, therefore, says —

Yes, I must pass then for a nobler life  
Where I may find the agonies, the strifes  
Of human hearts

— Sleep and Poetry.

Looked at from this point of view Bāṇa does not come up to the mark. It appears that he creates for himself an atmosphere of his own and scarcely descends from the heights of the Himalayas into the world of grim realities to face the miseries of life and the agonies of human hearts. Wherever he goes he carries an ideal atmosphere wherein there are no scoundrels. He seems to fight shy of the darker aspects of human nature. Even Kālidāsa does not appear to do it. To us only Bhavābhūti seems to answer fully the test set down by Keats".

This biographical account of Bāṇa may well be wound up by dealing with an account of two other authors, who are connected more or less closely, with him. One is his son Bhaṣṭa and other his father-in-law (or brother in law) Mayūra.

It is well known that Bāṇa's son completed his father's कादम्बरी. He says in the introductory verses to the Kadamban-uttarabhāga that he completed his father's incomplete कादम्बरी not to flaunt his own poetic talents, but to satisfy the public, which was deeply grieved over the abrupt stop to which Bāṇa's death had brought it. *अप याते दिव पित्रि तद्वचमेव गाधे विच्छेदमाप मुवि यस्तु वधाश्रवण । इत्थं सता तदममाप्तिहृत् विराज्य शारंग एव न मया न वदिव दपत् ॥* "The name of बाण's son is given differently at different

places Dr Buhler says that his name was भूपतः ( See Dr Peterson's Introduction to Kadambari p 40 ) Others ( Peterson, Keith etc ) say it was भूपतः In some mss of कदम्बरी the name is stated to be पुलिन्द or पुलिन ( vide Prof S R Bhandarkar's report on the search of Mss 1904-5, 1905-6, p 39, see also Dr Stein's Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss at Jammu p 299 ) Dhanapala, in his नित्यमञ्जरी ( circa 1000 A D ) seems to indicate that Bapa's son was named पुलिन्द or पुलिन्दः प " कदम्बोऽपि स्फुरन्वाणः करोति विमदावलीम् । किं पुनः कृत्स्नमयानपुलिन्दः ( नन्द ) दृष्टव्यमिति ॥ "— 26, which is a *shloka* verse Mm P. V Kane has shown how पुलिन्द is not an unusual name, as the donee in Inscription No 31 of the Gupta inscriptions, dated 214 of the Gupta era i e 533-34 A D, of महाराज शर्वाङ्ग is a पुलिन्दः ( p 136 ) We wonder whether this पुलिन्द, the donee, was an ancestor of Bapa, because the repetition of ancestor's name is a common Indian habit

The late V K. Chiplunkar in his essay on Bana mentions a tradition according to which Bapa's son vowed to complete कदम्बरी before the first anniversary of his father and succeeded in carrying out this praiseworthy plan of his

Another author traditionally linked up with Bapabhattacharya Mayūra Bapa is said to be a contemporary and the son-in-law ( or brother-in-law ) of Mayūra Thus acc to मधुसूदन author of the commentary भाववोधिनी on मूर्धन्यक—माधवराजस्य उज्जयिनीराजधानीकस्य कनिष्ठमूर्धन्यस्य रत्नावल्यास्यनाटिकावतुमहाराजकीर्तयस्य तन्मयी महाकवी पौर्वस्यौ बाणमयूरावास्ताम् । तयोर्मध्ये मधुरमह इवसुर । बाणमह कदम्बरीग्रन्थकर्ता तस्य जामाता । Dr Hall's 'Preface to Vasavadatta' p 8 mentions the authority of a commentator of मानसुष्टकाचार्य' मन्त्रामरस्तोत्र to support the same relationship of बाण and मधुर The प्रवचचिन्तामणि of मेस्तुष्ट, however says that Bapa was the husband of Mayūra's sister Mayūra is said to have got rid of leprosy by composing मूर्धन्यक, and Mammata in Kavyaprakāśa I refers to this in the words ' जादित्यादिमयूरादीनामिवानयनिवारणम् । ' Bapa became envious of Mayūra and maiming himself is said to have regained his retrenched limbs by composing the चण्डिका

The legend as to how Mayūra got leprosy and how he got rid of it is amusing Acc to it मधुर was a contemporary of बाणमह

and was the latter's father-in-law or brother-in law. One day, while returning after his morning constitutional, he passed by Bāṇa's house and he overheard at that early hour of morning a love-quarrel between Bāṇa and his wife. Bāṇa was trying to pacify his wife who was angry for some reason and he addressed a verse to her. But when three quarters of the verse were complete Bāṇa's muse failed him. Mayūra, from outside supplied the fourth quarter. (The whole verse is गतप्राया रात्रिर्वरतनु शशी शीघ्रं त इव प्रदीपोऽय निशावशमुपगतो घूर्णत इव । प्रणामान्तो मानस्यजसि न तथापि क्रुमहो कुचप्रत्यासत्या हृदयमपि ते चण्डि कटिनम् ॥) Bāṇa's wife did not like an outsider's intrusion on her privacy, and little realising he was Mayūra (her father or brother) cursed him to be a leper. भट्टयशोश्वर gives this story in his commentary on the सूर्यशतक. He makes both बाण and मयूर reside at the court of King Bhoja (1000 A D) at Dhārā. So this story has no historical value by itself. Mayūra, who consequently became a leper, got rid of leprosy by composing the work सूर्यशतक cp. सुधासागर on काव्यप्रकाश I (ref above). पुरा किल मयूरस्मार्ता कुट्टी कवि क्लेशमसहिष्णुरत्युच्चतरशास्त्रावलम्बि शतरञ्जुशिक्यमधिरूढ सूर्यमस्तीषीत । अवरौचर्कैकपथा ते एकैकरञ्जु विच्छेदम् । एव द्वियमाणकाव्यपरितुष्टो रवि राद्य एव नीरोगा रमणीया च तत्तनुमकार्षीत् प्रसिद्ध च तन्मयूरशतकमिति ।" How Bāṇa composed his चण्डीशतक to emulate Mayūra is stated above already.

There is nothing improbable about the contemporaneity of Bāṇa and Mayūra. There are verses in Sanskrit literature which refer to बाण and मयूर as contemporaries and proteges of king Harṣa cp (1) "अहो प्रभावो वाग्देव्या यन्मातङ्गदिवाकर । श्रीहर्षस्याभव सभ्य सम बाणमयूरयो ॥" a verse ascribed to राजशेखर and quoted in सुभाषितावलि and शाङ्गधरपदति (2) "स चित्रवर्णविच्छित्तिहारिणो रवनीपति । श्रीहर्ष इव सघट्टचक्रे बाणमयूरयो ॥"—नवसाहस्राङ्कचरित II 18 which refers to a contest between बाण and मयूर at Harṣa's court. आनन्दवर्धन's ध्वन्यालोक (latter half of the 9th cent A D) has quoted verses from मयूर's सूर्यशतक (e.g. the verse दत्तानन्दा & c, which is no 9 in सूर्यशतक N & Edn). क्षेमेन्द्र's कविकण्ठाभरण (latter half of 11 the cent A D) mentions मयूर by name and quo a verse from सूर्यशतक (the verse अस्तव्यस्तत्वज्ञान्यो & c, No 18 of सूर्यशतक is quoted in the fourth सन्धि of कविकण्ठाभरण as मयूर's).



Dr Hall, Dr. Peterson and the late Vishnushastri Chiplunkar say that the poet मयूर was a companion of Bana and is referred to by him in his हर्षचरित. Others do not feel this correct. It is interesting to note that one of Bana's companions in his early travels is one मयूरक. But that मयूरक was a जादूगुलिक (=विषवेद्य) i.e. a snake-doctor and so probably different from the poet मयूर. Further this जादूगुलिक मयूरक is of about the same age as Bana and hardly can be Bana's father in law. But if मयूर were to be Bana's brother-in-law this difficulty of age would not arise. A verse ascribed to राजशेखर (circa 900 A. D.) in the सूक्तिमुक्तावलि seems to suggest that the poet मयूर was also a snake-doctor cp "दर्वं कविभुजङ्गानां गता ध्वजगोचरम् । विषविद्यया मयूरी मयूरी वाह निरुन्तति ।—" JBBRAS Vol XVII part I p. 59. So this problem has amusing possibilities.

According to commentators of भक्तमरस्तोत्र of the Jain Ācārya Manatunga, मानतुङ्ग lived at the court of king Bhoja of Ujjayini and was contemporary of Bana and Mayura. They narrate several anecdotes about Bana and Mayura, but these seem to be purely imaginary and lacking historical veracity (for these legends cp Hall's Introduction to Vasavadatta pp. 7-8, Bühler's article on the Candlāṭaka of Bāṇabhaṭṭa in I. A. Vol. I pp. 113-115, Bühler's article 'on the authorship of Ratnavali' in I. A. Vol. II pp. 127-128, Tawney's translation of the Prabandhaśāntamāṇi pp. 64-66). A verse ascribed to राजशेखर in the सूक्तिमुक्तावलि refers to बाण and दिवाकर (=मातङ्गदिवाकर?) together "भासो रामिलसोमिलो वरदक्षि श्रीराह्यादक कविर्मेष्ठो भारविकालिदासतरला स्वगन्ध सुबन्धुश्च य । इन्दो बाणदिवाकरी गणपति कातश्च रत्नाकर सिद्धा यस्य सरस्वती मयवती के तस्य सर्वेऽपि ते ॥—JBBRAS Vol XVII pt I p. 60) Nagavarmā, a famous Kannada writer of about 984 A. D., who has written a Kannada version of the Kādambari and a work on metrics called इन्द्रोम्बुधि, has claimed in the latter that 'he has vanquished Bana and eclipsed Mayura', as Mm. Kane puts it. Vide History of Canarese Literature by E. P. Rice p. 29, and Journal of Oriental Research Madras Vol. IX (for 1935) pp. 81-82 where it is sought to be proved that Mayura wrote on metrics also.

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## Chapter II.

### BĀNABHATTA'S DATE

"Bana's date is one of the surest planks in the tottering structure of ancient Indian chronology

—Mm. Dr P V Kane

Fixing the dates of Sanskrit authors is generally a laborious task and often a headache in spite of a salutary exercise and incentive it affords to the brains of researchers ! So when we come across some authors like Bānabhatta whose dates are practically definite and beyond cavil, we feel doubly rewarded firstly because of the definiteness of these dates themselves and secondly because their help in fixing the dates of some other authors, who might have referred to, or might have been referred to by, such authors

Bānabhatta was patronised by Emperor Harṣa of Sthanvisvara as we know from Bānabhatta's Harṣacarita. Then, the famous Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsang, who was in India from 629 A D to 645 A D has left extensive memoirs of his travels, wherein he mentions a king Harṣa who was then the Emperor of Northern India. This Buddhist pilgrim left his native country in 629 A D to visit the sacred places of his religion (viz Buddhism) in India and travelled widely for about sixteen years in India. He relates that during his whole travels in this country a king called 'Ho li cha fa tanna', which translated in Sanskrit means ह्यवतन, was the supreme ruler of Northern India, with his capital at Kanyakubja. This king undoubtedly is identical with king श्रीहर्ष, Bana's patron and the hero of his ह्यवतन, because the account of हर्ष by अणभट्ट and that by Hiuen Tsang agree remarkably well on the whole. This emperor ह्य ruled from 606 A D to 648 A D. This was the time of Bana's literary activity. So Bana must have lived [towards the end of the 6th and first half of the 7th century A D.

There is a wealth of corroborating evidence which can be marshalled, in support of this date. We present below practically

all such noteworthy evidence, with special debt of gratitude to Mm Dr P V Kane, who first presented it with such richness and exhaustiveness —

(1) Ruyyaka in his बलहरासर्वस्व (circa 1150 A D ) mentions हर्षचरित of बाण several times, and also mentions that he himself wrote a work called हर्षचरितवातिक Ruyyaka has also quoted from the Kadambari ( cp ' यस्तपोवनमिति मुनिनि ' ) इत्यादि हर्षचरिते श्रीकण्ठाख्यजनपदवर्णने—अलङ्कारसर्वस्व p 47, " तथैव हर्षचरित ' अनुसूयो देव्या इत्यात्मसम्भावना ' इत्यादौ, तथा ' यामीति न स्नेहसदृशम् ' इत्यादावुक्तविषय आक्षेप " — अल p 117, " यथा हर्षचरिते राज्यवर्धन प्रति र्थाहर्षोक्तिषु ' यदि बाल इति सुवचनपरित्यागोऽस्मि ' —अल. p 139, " नमन्तु शिरासि पतूषि वा कर्णपूरीत्रियन्तामाज्ञा मीय्यो वा—अल. p 158, " यथा वा हर्षचरितप्रारम्भे ब्रह्मसदसि वेदस्वरूपवर्णने । एव तत्रैव मुनिकोष-वर्णने, पुलिन्दवर्णनादौ ज्ञेयम् । —" अल p 182, " चित्रकर्मसु वर्णसङ्करो यतिषु शब्दग्रहणानि " —अल p 154 (This last reference is from कादम्बरी). For Ruyyaka's reference to हर्षचरितवातिक cp एषा ( उत्प्रेक्षा ) च समस्तोपमाप्रतिपादनविषयेऽत्र हर्षचरितवातिके साहित्यमीमांसाया च तेषु तेषु प्रदेशेषुदाहृतम् ।—अल p 61 )

(2) क्षेमेन्द्र in his औचित्यविचारचर्चा and कविकण्ठाभरण has referred to बाण by name several times : क्षेमेन्द्र flourished in the latter half of 11 th cent A D He also seems to have written पद्मकादम्बरी based on बाण's कादम्बरी ( In his औचित्यविचारचर्चा he quotes the verse स्तनपुष्पमधुसनात् & c , and elsewhere in the same work writes " न तु यथा भट्टबाणस्य ' ज्यत्पुत्र स धनार & c ' —In his कविकण्ठाभरण—सन्धि 2 he says यथाच भट्टबाणस्य—' भट्ट कथयता सज्जदायका ' & c )

(3) Namisadhya in his commentary on Rudrata's काव्यालङ्कार ( comp vol 1 p 1069 A D ) has referred to हर्षचरित as specimens of कथा and वस्त्वपिक्ता ( see comment on काव्यालङ्कार of रुद्रट XVI 22 and 26 )

(4) Bhoja ( 11 th cent A D ), in his नरसिंहविजयभरण has referred to बाण at some places : भाज also has observed यादव-विजय बाण पञ्चम न तादृश ( v 1 पञ्चमधेऽपि तादृश —N S Edn )

( 5 ) The *Dasarūpa* of Dhanañjaya mentions Bāṇa by name. Dhanañjaya was patronised by king Muṣṇja, probably the uncle of king Bhoja. Dhanañjaya's date is circa 950 A. D.—1000 A. D.

( 6 ) Abhinanda wrote in verse the कादम्बरीकथासार. अभिनव-गुप्त in his ध्वन्यालोकलोचन has referred to a कादम्बरीकथासार by भट्ट-जयन्तक, probably confusing between अभिनन्द and अभिनन्द's father भट्टजयन्त, also called वृत्तिकार. अभिनन्द's date is circa 950 A. D. Any way अभिनन्द is definitely pre-क्षेमेन्द्र because क्षेमेन्द्र has mentioned him in his सुवृत्तितिलक cp अनुष्टुप्सततासक्ता साभिनन्दस्य नन्दिनी । विद्या-धरस्य वदने गूलिकेव प्रभावभू ॥

( 7 ) The ध्वन्यालोक of आनन्दवर्धन ( latter half of the 9th cent. A. D. ) mentions Bāṇa and his two prose compositions by name ( cp 'यथा स्याज्जीवरास्यजनपदवर्णने भट्टबाणस्य 'यत्र च मत्तमातङ्ग्यामिन्य'—ध्वन्यालोक p 100, यथा हर्षचरिते 'समवाय इव विरोधिना यदार्थानाम्'—ध्व p 101, यथा हर्षचरिते सिंहन दवाक्येषु—'वृत्तेऽस्मिन्महाप्रलये'—ध्व ॥ 127, 'यथा कादम्बर्या कादम्बरीदर्शनावसरे—ध्व p. 8, on p. 100 of ध्वन्यालोक a passage is quoted from हर्षचरित II without naming it ).

( 8 ) वामन in his काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति seems to quote a few words from the Kadambari. वामन's date in all probability in the latter half of the 8th cent A. D. ( cp 'अनुकरोति भगवतो नारायणस्य' इत्यत्रापि, मन्थे, स्मशब्द कविना प्रयुक्तो लेखकैस्तु प्रमादात् लिखित इति । ' on 'आहेति भूतेऽयंनलन्तममाद् भुवो लटि'—काव्यालङ्कारसूत्र V 2 44. For the words 'अनुकरोति भगवतो नारायणस्य' see कादम्बरी para—2).

Thus several authors from 12th century A. D. backwards to the 8th century A. D. refer to Bāṇa and his works.

Bāṇa himself refers to a number of authors or works in his Introduction to the *Harṣacarita*. Bāṇa's date ( the first half of the 7th cent. A. D. ) is the terminus ad quem of these poets. The works and poets mentioned by Bāṇa by name are —

( 1 ) व्यास and his भारत ( also referred to again as भारती कथा )  
 2 ) The आख्ययिकावारा in general ( 3 ) वासवदत्ता ( 4 ) गद्यवन्ध of भट्टार हरिचन्द्र ( 5 ) सातवाहन's कोश of सुमापितः ( 6 ) सनु of प्रवरसेन

(7) The नाट्यसूत्र of भात (8) The सूत्रिक of वालिदास (9) बृहत्कथा and (10) आदयराजकृत उत्साह

We shall discuss, at some length, for the benefit of our readers the dates of and some relevant particulars about these works or authors —

(1) व्यास and his भारत—The reference is obviously to the world-famous Mahabharata ascribed to Vyasa but which actually has grown into a शतसाहस्री संहिता of an encyclopaedic nature, roughly between 400 B C — 400 A D The work narrates the story of the family feud of the कौरव and पाण्डव It was already a holy work by the days of Bana, who more than once refers to it.

(2) The आख्यायिकाकारा—This is a general reference to the 'writers of akhyāyikas' Obviously Bana had before him a fairly rich tradition of Sanskrit prose romance We shall revert to this topic at a subsequent stage in the book

(3) वासवदत्ता—There is considerable controversy about the identity of this 'वासवदत्ता' referred to by Bana. Is it 'वासवदत्ता' the well known कथा of that name by सुवचु? Or is it an आख्यायिका वासवदत्ता, not extant now, but referred to by पतञ्जलि the author of the महर्भाष्य? Scholars like Dr Hall, Dr Peterson (acc to his later changed view as expressed in his preface to बल्लभदेव's सुभाषितानलि), Prof Macdonell (who by the way has given an altogether erroneous account of the contents of the वासवदत्ता), Vishvaśāstrī Chiplunkar and Mr P V Kane, hold that the वासवदत्ता referred to by Bana is the वासवदत्ता of सुवचु While Dr Peterson earlier held the view that the वासवदत्ता referred to by Bana is not सुवचु's वासवदत्ता, but probably the आख्यायिका of that name mentioned by पतञ्जलि, and the late Prin A B Gajendragadkar has tried to argue strongly for this view which is shared by the late पाट्टरगशास्त्री पारखी & Pandit R. V Kṛṣṇamāchār as Prin Gajendragadkar mentions We shall now examine the arguments of both sides

Mr Kane's arguments, representing the former view are —

(1) कविराज, the author of राघवपाण्डवीय mentions मूढ, बाण and

himself as the masters of वक्रोक्ति cp " सुवन्धुर्वाणिमदृश्च कविराज इति त्रय । वक्रोक्तिमार्गनिपुणाश्चतुर्थो विद्यते न वा ॥—राघवपाण्डवीय " I 41. Mm Kane feels that the mention is in chronological order But this argument is not very convincing For Sanskrit writers generally do not show any chronological sense in their reference to their predecessors and we have no special reason to believe that कविराज was particularly meticulous Probably कविराज had a greater admiration for सुवन्धु whom he resembles in profuse use of laboured and artificial श्लेष in his double meaning राघवपाण्डवीय. Further we have another poet viz वामनदाण, author of वीरनारायण-चरित who mentions दाण before सुवन्धु cp प्रतिक्रिमेदनदाण कवितातह-गहनविहरणमयूर । सहृदयलोका सुवन्धुजयति श्रीमद्वामनकविराज ॥ We have in मङ्गल श्रीकण्ठचरित a verse where मेण्ठ, सुवन्धु, भारवि and दाण are praised together, with no possible pretensions to chronology cp. " मेण्ठे स्वर्द्धिरवाधिरोहिणि वन याते सुवन्धो विधे शान्ते हन्त च भारवी विघटिते दाणेविशदस्पर्श "—श्रीकण्ठचरित II 53 Really there are no chronological ideas generally in such mentions

( 2 ) वाक्पतिराज refers to सुवन्धु ( cp भावस्मि जलमसिते वतीदेवे अ जस्स रहुआरे । सोवन्धवे अ वन्धस्मि हरियन्दे अ आणन्दो ॥—Pandit's Gaudavaho v 800 ), but not to Bana So it seems that in his days सुवन्धु was already famous, but दाण was not yet known to fame वाक्पति's date is the first half of the 8th cent A D and he was contemporary of Bhavabhuti This argument also is not very convincing It is a negative argument based on वाक्पति's non-mention of दाणभट्ट But negative arguments do not carry any probative force Thus for example दाणभट्ट mentions महाभारत in the introductory verses to his हर्षचरित, but makes no mention of रामायण there Was he not aware of रामायण ? We can quote chapter and verse to prove that he was

( 3 ) The वाक्पदना referred to by दाण is probably वया and no ant आत्यायिका So it cannot be the आत्यायिका mentioned by पद्मजलि Bana probably refers to a वया वाक्पदना only, because just in the previous verse the आत्यायिकाकारा have been praised and



in the present verse he should be referring to another type of वचन viz. कथा, because " in this Introduction Bana assigns only one verse to each of the poets or works mentioned by him, there is no reason why he should depart from this rule in the case of बाह्यादिका " ( slightly adapted quotation ) I think Mm Kane is not very convincing here also ह्यवरित the work undertaken, being an बाह्यादिका, Bana might naturally have given more than one verse to that type. We actually feel that verses 10, 11, 19 and 20 are in praise of बाह्यादिका

Thus we find that all the three arguments given above are not able to carry conviction. Now we shall examine the arguments on the other side as marshalled by the late P<sup>ri</sup>m A B Gajendra-gadkar. He holds that the वचनदत्ता referred to by Bana cannot be that of सुबन्धु for the following reasons —

( 1 ) Subandhu's वाचनदत्ता hardly justifies the high encomium paid by Bana in the introductory verse and its reference. The वचनदत्ता of सुबन्धु brims with रूप at every word almost, as the author proudly claims, and these रूप are generally abstruse, repetitive, commonplace and occasionally badly indecent and obscene. The plot construction is too ill knit and governed by chance. It hardly can be called a great work by an author like Bana. We wonder whether this argument should not be called too subjective, though fairly a just one.

( 2 ) P<sup>ri</sup>m Gajendragadkar wonders how Subandhu's slipshod and uncouth work could be an admirable model for Bana who shows a high sense of chastity of sentiment as well as of diction. How literary taste can differ so sharply between the brief period between Subandhu and Bana ? On the whole priority of Subandhu to Bana is implausible. P<sup>ri</sup>m Gajendragadkar thinks that artificial style developed after Bhavabhūti, and he would place सुबन्धु after 700 A D. He also notes that Dr Peterson ( who later on changed his view without giving reasons for it ) originally had a similar opinion. He had then thought that the present वचनदत्ता of सुबन्धु with its " graceless string of extravagant and indecent puns " could hardly be supposed to have preceded the chastity

of sentiment and diction of Bāṇa and Bhavabhūti—can we imagine such a public reversal of taste towards catholicism in literature? We think this question is only a rhetorical flourish & proves nothing. There is no particular rule either about 'chaste' style and 'unchaste' style following one another in one particular order or about their inability to co exist together. Dandin who precedes both Bāṇa and Bhavabhūti, has many a vulgar and indecent phrase or pun, why should Subandhu be denied that luxury? And when we speak of the chastity of Bhavabhūti's style, we should not forget that the maestro of Uttararāmacarita has written many a passage in the earlier *Malatīmādhava* which would make the purists blush!

(3) Subandhu is hardly original. He has borrowed greatly from old masters like Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, and also very extensively from Bāṇa himself. Prin Gajendragadkar quotes chapter and verse of such borrowings. But one may well ask whether सुबन्धु borrowed from बाण or vice versa? Prin Gajendragadkar says that Bāṇa, who has fiercely attacked plagiarists in his introductory verses to the *हर्षचरित*, can hardly be the plagiarist himself. And so according to him सुबन्धु must be the borrower. He also asserts that the late Vishnushastri Chiplunkar also was fully aware of सुबन्धु's large-scale borrowings from earlier authors, still because of his fixed notion that बाण's reference was to सुबन्धु's वासवदत्ता, he believed that Bāṇa borrowed from सुबन्धु in case of the similar passages. We find it very difficult to reach any definite conclusion about the debt of सुबन्धु to बाण or vice versa. Mm P. V. Kane also reaches the same indecision after raising the topic. He points out how the following quotation from वामन's काव्यालङ्कार-सूत्रवृत्ति occurs with slight variations in हर्षचरित and वासवदत्ता cp. "कुलिशशिखरखरनखरप्रचयप्रचडचपेटापाटितमत्तमातङ्गकुम्भस्थलगलन्मदच्छटा-च्छुरितचारुवेसरमारमासुरमुखे केगरिणि-काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति I 3 26, this passage occurs in हर्षचरित VI with v 1 '० मातङ्गोत्तमाटङ्गभेद०', it also occurs in वासवदत्ता (p 331 of the S'rīrangam edn and p 266 of Hall's) with a v 1 '० चपेटापाटितमत्तमातङ्गकुम्भस्थलगलधिरच्छटा-च्छुरितचारुवेसरमारमासुरमुखेरिकदम्बेन' "This correspondence between

the वासवदत्ता and the हर्षचरित opens up the question whether वाण actually borrowed the words of वासवदत्ता. There are many passages where वाण's words and ideas coincide with those of the वासवदत्ता. For want of space we refrain from quoting all of them. But we cannot help referring to a passage in the हर्षचरित (uc III para 6) containing a list of kings which is similar to a passage of the वासवदत्ता (Hall's edn pp 273-276). That one of them has borrowed from the other hardly admits any doubt. "But who is the borrower certainly admits one."

(4) The reference by Bana to Vasavadatta in an introductory verse to the Harṣacarita comes immediately after his homage to the आख्यायिकाकारा, and in all commonsense expectation he is referring to a great आख्यायिका 'वासवदत्ता' in the following verse. The वासवदत्ता of सुकन्धु is a कथा, and it can hardly be the one referred to by Bana. P. N. Gajendragadkar feels that the आख्यायिका वासवदत्ता referred to by Bana seems to be the ancient famous आख्यायिका of that name referred to by पटञ्जलि in his महाभाष्य, by जयादित्य and वामन, authors of वाचिका, an old commentary on पाणिनिमूत्रस, in their वाचिका, and by भट्टोजी दीक्षित in his सिद्धान्तकौमुदी, and which at present is not extant. (The महाभाष्य commenting on the वाचिक 'अत्रिहृत्य कृते शब्दे आख्यायिकास्यो बहुलम्' mentions three works of the आख्यायिका class viz. वासवदत्ता, सुमनोत्तरा and नैमरथी (Kielhorn vol II p 313). In another place he speaks of a person who has studied the आख्यायिका वासवदत्ता (Kielhorn vol II p 284). It is not impossible that Bana knew this work and referred to it.)

(5) Kalidasa and Bhavabhūti have referred to the वासवदत्ता legend (cp प्रधानस्य प्रियदुहितर वत्सराजोऽयं जह्नुः—Megha, वासवदत्ता च सज्जाय सान्निध्या दत्तमाभान उदयवाय प्रायच्छन् ।—M. M.) Now we find that these references do not fit in with either the details in the कथानिर्णयान्तर or the दत्तकवाग्जरी (which make चण्डमहासेन of उज्जयिनी the father of वासवदत्ता and प्रद्योत king of मगध as the father of पद्मावती), or those in सुकन्धु's works. So probably the source for

Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti was the same old वासवदत्ता referred to by वत्सनालि and others.

About the date of सुवन्धु, the upper and lower limits can be broadly fixed as follows—(1) सुवन्धु seems to be referring to न्यायवार्तिककार उत्तमतकर and बौद्धसङ्गति an alamkāra work by धर्मकीर्ति ( cp न्यायस्थितिभिवोद्योतकरस्वरूपा बौद्धसङ्गतिमिवालङ्कारभूषिताम् ). Both these authors are from 6th cent A D—धर्मकीर्ति coming towards the end of the 6th century A. D So सुवन्धु must have flourished after 600 A D. ( 2 ) वामन ( latter half of 8th century A D ) seems to quote a passage from सुवन्धु's वासवदत्ता in his वाङ्मयविवरणम्. So also वाङ्मयविवरणम्, who composed his गौडवहो between 733 to 753 A D. as Dr Bhandarkar shows, took delight in सुवन्धु's composition. So सुवन्धु should have lived before 733 A D His position in relation to Bāna is dubious, as seen above

( 4 ) महार हरिचन्द्र—Nothing more is known about महार हरिचन्द्र except his name and that he wrote a prose composition ( गद्य वचन ). That prose composition is not yet discovered. A verse in वाङ्मयविवरणम्'s गौडवहो ( quoted earlier ) refers to a हरिचन्द्र वचन which seems to be this very work. There is a poem called धर्मशर्मामृतद्वय written by a Jain writer named हरिचन्द्र. Dr Peterson supplies the following information about a certain हरिचन्द्र " In the beginning of महेश्वर's विश्वप्रकाश, the author traces his lineage to one हरिचन्द्र who was a physician at the court of साहसादित्य. If there were any other reasons for identifying this साहसादित्य with the king साहसादित्य who slew हर्ष's brother, we might find our हरिचन्द्र here, and regard him as one of the authors in virtue of whose writings श्रीसाहसादित्य, like श्रीहर्ष, stands amongst the poets ( cp " मासोरामिलमोमिहो .. सर्वेषां ते " from राजशेखर's शाङ्गवर्णनपटति, quoted above ) ". We feel that this हरिचन्द्र, a protégé of राजशेखर, an enemy of emperor हर्ष can hardly be one referred to with such honour by वामन, हर्ष's

protege, in ordinary commonsense considerations, irrespective of his poetic merits or otherwise !

(5) सातवाहन—Generally सातवाहन is identified with हल, the author of गायसप्तशती (सप्तमई). The गायसप्तशती is an anthology of Prakrit verses, mainly having love themes, and technically is called a कोपग्रन्थ. Bāṇa also has called it as such. साहित्यदर्पण VI 329-330 defines कोप as “ कोप इलोकसमूहस्तु स्यादन्योन्यान्पेक्षकः । वज्रानमेव रचितः स एवास्मिन्नोरम ॥ ” Also cp काव्यादर्श I 13 According to some, हल is the author of the work, according to others he is the compiler. His date is not exactly known. The कथासरित्सागर informs us that सातवाहन was the king of प्रतिष्ठान and गुणादय the author of the famous पैशाची work बृहत्कथा was his minister. The identification of सातवाहन (Pr सातवाहन) with हल is supported by many authorities (cp “ सातवाहनमिह हलो ”—देसीनाममाला ( VIII 66 ) of हेमचन्द्र, “ हल स्यात्सातवाहन. ”—अभियानचिन्तामणि, श्रीरत्नावलिन quotes several verses enumerating the names of famous emperors of old, amongst which he mentions : “ हल स्याच्छाशिलिवाहन ” Mm. Kane thinks that हल is an abbreviated form of the Prakrit सातवाहन ( ह् and ह are often interchanged even in modern vernaculars like the Gujarati )

(6) प्रवरसेन's सेतुबन्ध—Bāṇa obviously is referring to the famous Prakrit poem सेतुबन्ध by प्रवरसेन in हर्ष's intro verse 14. There is a tradition which makes कालिदास as the author of सेतुबन्ध which was ascribed by him to his patron प्रवरसेन. Others hold that वालिदास was a co-author with प्रवरसेन in case of सेतुबन्ध. Bāṇa makes no suggestion of कालिदास's sole or joint authorship. The राजतरङ्गिणी mentions several Kings of Kashmir, that had the name प्रवरसेन. In राजतरङ्गिणी III 125-323 we are told how at the behest of हर्ष-विजयमहिय of जञ्जयिनी, मातृमुप्त (=कालिदास acc to some, an identification that has hardly anything to commend itself) was made king of Kashmir, how on abdication by मातृमुप्त at हर्ष's death, प्रवरसेन II ascended the Kashmir throne and how he generously treated मातृमुप्त. Dandin has referred to (प्रवरसेन's) सेतुबन्ध cp. काव्यादर्श I 34 (महाराष्ट्राश्रया भाषा प्रवृष्ट प्राकृत विदुः । सागर मुक्तिरत्नानां सेतुबन्धादि यन्मम ॥ ) Mm. Kane suggests that प्रवरसेन, the author of सेतुबन्ध,

may have been a वाकाटक king. We have references to two प्रवरसेन of वाकाटक family (cp Chimmak and Sivani copperplate grants—C I I III pp 235, 243). P. M. Miraslu has later cogently argued for this view (cp his work "Kalidasa" in Marathi, also he has several articles and a separate treatise on the Vakatakas).

(7) Bhasa —The Bhasa problem is now quite well-discussed. We need not enter into details thereof. Bhasa was one of our greatest dramatists and his dramas had considerable literary and dramatic merit. The very fact that he has elicited a meed of praise from Kalidasa and Bana is a high praise in itself. Dr. Peterson believed that Bhasa was a contemporary or immediate predecessor of Bana (cp Intro p 71) and that सूत्रधारकृतारम्भनाटक were a novelty in Bana's days (cp Intro p 80). But Kalidasa's remarks about Bhasa as a प्रथितयशस कवि and himself as यत्नमानकवि, and the fact that Bana regards Kalidasa as an eminent predecessor of himself, would show that Dr. Peterson has erred. Bhasa must have preceded Kalidasa by some generations.

(8) Kalidasa —Kalidasa is also too well known to require any special discussion here. Dr. Peterson thought Kalidasa to be a contemporary of Bana (see Intro p 81). But the way in which Bana has referred to Kalidasa would show that Kalidasa must have preceded Bana by a long interval.

(9) बृहत्कथा—A famous work in the पंजाबी dialect, ascribed to गुणदत्त, the बृहत्कथा is unfortunately not extant. But it was definitely available in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. Because we have two abridgements of the work in Sanskrit viz सोमदेव's पञ्चासत्तिसागर (12th cent A.D.) and क्षेमेन्द्र's बृहत्कथामञ्जरी (11th cent A.D.). Somadeva tells us in his work 'यथामूलं सर्ववैतनं मनागप्यतिष्ठम् । न च विस्तरसक्षेपमात्रं भाषा च भिद्यते ॥'—I, 10. A third redaction of the ancient बृहत्कथा was issued by a French scholar M. Lacote. See J. R. A. S. for 1906 p. 689 for a Tamil work based upon the बृहत्कथा. In कथासरित्सागर-सम्बद्ध 1, chapters 6 and 7, we are told how गुणदत्त was a minister of king सातवाहन of Deccan. He once had a wager, which he lost and consequently abandoned the use of Sanskrit Prakrits or Deśabhāṣas. He went to Vindhya forest, learnt the पंजाबी language and wrote a work of

seven lakhs of verses in that language, in his own blood. The work was not heeded or appreciated by the king; and so गुणादय began to read the work page by page in the forest, and consign each page read to fire. It was only when only one lakh verses had remained that the king sent for गुणादय; so that much portion was saved. बृहत्कथा was definitely existing before 600 A. D. as Bāṇa's reference to it shows. Daṇḍin and Subandhu also have referred to बृहत्कथा. It is not wrong to state that बृहत्कथा, along with रामायण and महाभारत, has supplied basic nuclei for several works of later generations of authors. We now give a list of select quotations about बृहत्कथा from ancient authors:— (i) "कथा हि सर्वभाषामिः संस्तुतेन च वक्ष्यते। भूतभाषामयी प्राकृतद्वन्द्वनाया बृहत्कथाम् ।। —काव्यादर्श I 38 (ii) "अपूर्वा बृहत्कथा मया धृता प्रत्यसोदृता च" "बृहत्कथारम्भेति माकभञ्जिनोपेनः", "बृहत्कथानु-बन्धिन इव गुणादया." —all from वासवदत्ता. (iii) "महाभारतपुराणरामायणानुरागिणा बृहत्कथानुष्ठेन —वाग्ध्वरौ (iv) "इत्यथसोपमिह वस्तुविभेद-चात्र रामायणादि च विभाव्य बृहत्कथा च । आसूत्रयेत्तदनु नैतूरसानुगुण्या चिन्ता कथामुचितचारवचःप्रपञ्चः ॥" —दशरूपक of घनञ्जय (v) नमिसायु commenting upon वाव्यालङ्कार II 12 of रघुट says: तथा प्राकृतमेव किञ्चिद्विसेषान् पंशाचिकम् ।... द्रव्यादयोऽपि प्राकृतविहिता व्यञ्जनादेना म प्रियन्ते ते च बृहत्कथादिदृश्यदर्शनाज्ज्ञेयाः । (p. 14 of Nirṇayasāgara edn). (vi) "गण्डवद्वाणद्विनीयेन नमसाकारधारिणा । घनुषेव गुणादयेन निश्रेयो रञ्जितो जनः ॥—नलचम्पू I 14. (vii) अतिशोर्धन विदोराद् व्यासेन यतोपहा-रित इव । केनोद्येत गुणादयः स इव जन्मन्मन्त्ररापत्रः ॥, श्रीरामायणमारत-बृहत्कथाना कवीशमस्तुर्भः ॥, "पूर्वविभिन्नयुक्ता गुणादयमवमृतिवाणरपुनारैः । वाग्देवी भजनी मम सन्तः पश्यन्तु की दीपः ॥—आर्षानन्दशतौ of गोवर्धन, Intro st. 33, 34 and 60. (viii) 'चित्रायी न बृहत्कथामवकथम्'—quoted in कुचलयानन्द under परिवार (p. 72 of Nirṇayasāgara edition) (ix) The verse समूहीपित्तवन्द्या कृतगौरीप्रभायना । हरलीलेव नो यस्य विस्मयाय बृहत्कथा ॥—दृषं चरित of वाण Intro v. 17.

(10) आटवरारज—Who is this आटवरारज, and what are his "दत्ताहः" is a problem. Some say आटवरारज is a proper name of a poet., some say it is not; Thus for example Dr Peterson thinks that आटवरारज is not a proper name (cp. Introduction to वाद० p. '96).

He thinks आदधराज practically the same as आधराज, and उत्साह according to him means 'brave deeds'. Some Mss. actually read आधराज which seems to be a conscious emendation to escape the difficulty of explaining आदधराज. One edition tries to escape the difficulty of explaining 'उत्साह' and reads कृतोच्छवास (regarding in this case आदधराज as the poet's name and उच्छवास's, chapters in his work). But this also seems to be a conscious emendation. Pischel thought आदधराज was हर्ष himself (J R A S for 1903 p 830). Keith holds a similar opinion. But there is no plausible support to this view. But looking to the fact that Bapa, in earlier verses, ■ referring to several eminent authors and, or their works, आदधराज obviously seems to be a proper name of some author and the उत्साहs seem to be the chapters in his work. But we do not know anything about the poet his work or time, beyond his name & the name of his chapters. That आदधराज is the proper name of a person is corroborated by this following verse from सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण vol I p 136 Benares edition "केऽभूत्तादधराजस्य काले प्राकृतभाषिणः । काले श्रीसाहसादस्य केन सस्कृतभाषिणः ॥" The commentator रत्नेश्वर commenting on this verse says that आदधराज is another name of शालिवाहन who encouraged the study of Prakrit and साहसादक stands for विजय. One difficulty against accepting these identifications is that Bapa has already, in an earlier verse (13) praised सातवाहन alias शालिवाहन. Secondly who are the उत्साहs of him? Some try to see a sarcastic reference to the 'encouragement (उत्साह) (1)' afforded by सातवाहन to the famous गुणादय. But one does not see any need by Bapa to have this sarcastic fling against a great king who lived centuries before him. The comment सङ्केत takes आदधराज to be a poet and explains उत्साह as 'beating time in dancing' (उत्साहो नृत्ते तालविशेषः). Then he enumerates the explanations of some others. "उदीर्यमाणगीत्याधारभूतपदोपकारालाव्यमपि उत्साह इति केचित् । यत्र पूर्वं श्लोकेनार्थ उपदिश्यते पश्चात् स एव गद्येन वितन्यते मध्ये वृत्तनिबन्धश्च भवति स परिसमाप्तार्थ उत्साह उच्यते इत्यन्ये ।"



## CHAPTER III

### ABOUT EMPEROR HARṢA

“ हेमो भारतानि वा मदमुषा वृन्दानि वा दन्तिना  
श्रीहरेण समपितानि वचने बापाय कुनाथ तत् ।  
या वाणेन तु तस्य भुविनिर्करैरट्टिकता कीर्तय  
स्ता कल्पप्रलयेऽपि यान्ति न मनाद् मन्ये परिम्लानताम् ॥”

—काव्यप्रकाशटीकाया सारसमुच्चयाशयायाम्.

Emperor Harṣa (also known as हर्षवर्धन, श्रीहर्ष or हर्षदेव) is a famous king of ancient India, and a famous author as well. He belonged to the house of स्थानेश्वर, which came to the forefront after the eclipse of the Guptas. We are fortunate to get considerable details about his life and times from (1) Bana's Harṣacarita which delineates the early life and deeds of Harṣa (2) Writing of Chinese authors, particularly Hsien Tsang (3) The numerous inscriptions of Harṣa himself and his contemporaries and (4) information culled from Harṣa's own works, or references to him or his age from other books. We shall sum up in this chapter the salient details about the king and his times. Readers interested in fuller details can get them in Mr. V. A. Smith's Early History of India.

**The Predecessors of Harṣa.**—A remote ancestor of हर्ष was पुष्यभूति, whose personality and achievements Bana describes in considerable details in the Harṣacarita. Between him and Prabhakaravardhana (Harṣa's father), intervened several kings. The Madhuban copperplate of Harṣa (see E. I. Vol. II p. 155 and also E. I. Vol. I p. 67) and the Banskhera copperplate of Harṣa (cp. E. I. Vol. IV p. 208 ff) furnish the following genealogical details —

नरवर्धन = नजिणीदेवी

|

राज्यवर्धन = अप्सरोदेवी

|

आदित्यवर्धन = महासेनगुप्ता

|

प्रभाकरवर्धन = यशोमती

|

राज्यवर्धन II

हर्ष

राज्यध्री

The Sonpat copper seal inscription of हर्षवर्धन (C I I Vol III p 221 ff), though much defaced confirms the statements made in the Madhuban and Banskhara copperplates. The Banskhara plate has an autograph of Harsha which reads स्व ह स्तो म म म हा रा जा धि रा ज धी ह र्ष स्य

The family deity of this dynasty was the sun पुष्यभूति is described as परमादित्यभक्त, नरवर्धन is designated as महाराज, राज्यवर्धन I as महाराज and परमादित्यभक्त, आदित्यवर्धन is styled महाराज and परमादित्यभक्त. प्रभाकरवर्धन's designations are परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज and परमादित्यभक्त. He is referred to as a sovereign ruler of the whole world girt by the four oceans. राज्यवर्धन II is also styled as परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज. But he carried the title परमसीत showing his Buddhist faith, when young राज्यवर्धन came to the throne he faced an immediate task of taking revenge of the murder of his brother-in-law the मीनरि ब्रह्मर्मा husband of राज्यध्री, by the king of Malwa. Rajyavardhana defeated the Malwa king, but was himself murdered by the latter's ally दशार्जुन, king of central Bengal. राज्यवर्धन is also said to have conquered kings like देवगुप्त, and is described as a universal sovereign. Rajyavardhana was succeeded on the throne by his younger brother Haravardhana at the age of 16, in October 606 A D. (His coronation, however, took place in 612 A D). Harsha is designated as परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज परमवाह्वर.

**More Historical Details** — It is from the reign from प्रभाकरवर्धन onwards that we get considerably more information

Bāṇa gives a lot of information with a free mixture of legend and ornate descriptions, and Hiuen Tsang's account also begins with प्रभाकरवर्धन. Hiuen Tsang was indeed one of the greatest travellers of the world and has left extensive memoirs of his travels in Chinese, which are now available to us in translations mainly through the industry of that distinguished Chinese scholar, M. Stanislas Julien. In these Hiuen Tsang speaks of a powerful king who was the emperor of northern India and who, there can be no reasonable doubt, is identical with Bāṇa's patron Harṣa, the hero of Harṣacarita. (For Hiuen Tsang's account of Harṣa vide an abstract of Julien's two works appeared in J. R. A. S., vol. XVII pp. 106-137, also Indian Antiquary vol. VIII pp. 196-202.)

As said above, Hiuen Tsang's account begins with प्रभाकरवर्धन. The kingdom of स्थानीयद्वर where he ruled must have been originally not very large. It was surrounded by petty states, which waged constant wars amongst themselves. हर्ष's ancestors preceding हर्षवर्धन are styled simply as महाराज. It is प्रभाकरवर्धन who is styled महाराजाधिराज for the first time. Bāṇa tells us that he had conquered the kings of सिन्धु, गुर्जर, गान्धार and मालव, and he had also conquered the हूण. (cp. तपुःचक्रमुत्पाद्यमानेषु कश्मिणीवपादि हूणहरिण-केन्द्री सिन्धुराज्यवरो गुजराज्यवरो गान्धारपिषगन्धर्विषकूटपाकली लाटपाट-वपाटवरो मालवदमीलतापरसु प्रतापशील इति प्रथितापरनामा प्रभाकरवर्धनो नाम राजाधिराजः । हर्षचरित IV) But the conquest against the हूण does not seem to be then very decisive, because towards the close of प्रभाकरवर्धन's reign, राज्यवर्धन had to be sent against the हूण. And प्रभाकरवर्धन died before राज्यवर्धन could return from that expedition. He was succeeded by राज्यवर्धन, who was the elder brother of हर्षवर्धन (see II R. W. W. Vol. I p. 210). When राज्यवर्धन came to throne he must have been about 19 or 20 years old. The elder of the two गुप्त princes, companions of राज्यवर्धन and हर्षवर्धन, कुमारगुप्त was about eighteen years old then. So also when राज्यवर्धन returned from his हूण expedition, there was a slight growth of hair on his chin. Harṣa was about 4 years junior to राज्यवर्धन and राज्यधी about two years junior to हर्ष. So at the time of प्रभाकरवर्धन's death हर्ष was about 16 and राज्यधी about 14, and the हर्षचरित often has referred to them as बाल or बाला respectively (cp.

यदि शाल इति नितरा तर्हि न परिस्थान्योर्ज्ज्वल'—p 317, वाल एवाण्डल-भूमिमारुह'—p 361, 'इय च न स्वसा वाला च बहुदुःखेदिता च । —p 449, also cp. V A Smith's *Early History of India* p 312 (2nd edn) प्रभाकरवर्धन is said to have died in 605 A. D. Harsha then must have been born about 590 A. D., and he accended the throne in 606 A. D. C V Vaidya, calculating from astronomical data furnished by वाण shows that हर्ष was born on 4th June 590 A. D. (see J B B. R. A S Vol XXIV pp. 252-4)

Thus when प्रभाकरवर्धन died his children were very young, the senior and heir-apparent राज्यवर्धन being about 19 or 20 years of age. राज्यवर्धन had no inclination for kingship and wanted to pass on the burden to Harsha, who was equally keen not to oblige. But just then a catastrophe again struck the family. ग्रहवर्मा the husband or राज्यश्री was killed by a king of Malava. राज्यवर्धन immediately marched against him with a small but picked force under Bhagdin and routed him as the हर्षचरित tells us. But we are not told about the identity of this मालव king. In हर्ष's inscriptions we find राज्यवर्धन stated to have vanquished a king named देवगुप्त. राज्यवर्धन's regime was very very short, and probably his only battle after inheriting the throne must have been with the murderer of ग्रहवर्मा. This made Dr Buhler conjecture that the murderer was देवगुप्त. This plausible conjecture is further strengthened by a reference in हर्षचरित which mentions that कान्यकुब्ज, ग्रहवर्मान्'s capital, was seized by a गुप्त (cp. गुप्तनाम्ना च गृहीते कुशस्थले—p 395). Dr Hoernle does not approve of Dr Buhler's conjecture. Two difficulties against that conjecture are (1) How is that the two Malava princes कुमारगुप्त and मावगुप्त are treated with such confidence in the हर्ष family (cp. राजा पृष्ठतो नियण्णस्य मालवराजमुनोरकवयत् ।—p 129, सर्वेभिर्दोषाभिपद्गैरमद्गतो वदधो-पधामि परीक्षितो सूची विनीतो विप्र-तावमिदृषा मालवराजपुत्रो मातरी मुजाविव मे शरीरादव्यतिरिक्तो कुमारगुप्तमावगुप्तनमानावस्माभिर्भक्तोरपुत्रत्वायंमिमे निदिष्टी ।—p p 229-230 "अवलम्ब्य दक्षिणेन हस्तेन च माघवगुप्तममे"—p 413). If they were any way related to the murderer of ग्रहवर्मा they would have been objects of suspicion rather than confidence, specially after that murder. (2) Secondly the imprisoned राज्यश्री was released from imprisonment by a certain noble called गुप्त

(cp वाग्यकुब्जात् गौडसाम्राज्ये युजितं गुप्तनाम्ना कुम्भुजेन निष्कासनम्—p 438) We feel that there were more than one गुप्त families ruling small territories in Malwa then, and देवगुप्त, the murderer as Dr Buher conjectures might be one of these several गुप्त kings.

But this Devagupta, king of Malwa, and alleged murderer of प्रह्वर्मा is to be clearly distinguished from the distinguished महाराजा-धिराज देवगुप्त ( 689 A D —700 A D ) ( see Deo Baramark Inscription pp 213, 215 ), who was the maternal grandfather of the वाकाटक king Pravarasena II ( vide Chammak and Sivani copperplate inscriptions in C I Vol III pp 240 and 247 ), as Mm Kane asserts ( Prin Mirashi would place Pravarasena II in 5th cent A D )

Though राज्यवधन, as said above routed the Malava king who had murdered he प्रह्वर्मा, he himself was treacherously murdered by a गौड king according to the ह्यचरित . Bana does not mention the name of the murderer ( cp आमनाम गुरोनाम नानातिष्ठणस्य च । श्येस्वामी न गृह्णीयाज्ज्येष्ठापत्यवलम्बो ॥ ) One ms of ह्यचरित names the killer as नरेन्द्रगुप्त ( cp E I Vol I p 70 ) The commentators of the ह्यचरित names him as दशार्द्धक Hiuen Tsang corroborates this because according to him She shang kia ( दशार्द्धक ), king of Kamasuvarṇa ( Bengal ) murdered राज्यवधन ( B R W W Vol I p 210 ) Bana also seems to make a veiled reference to the murderer's name being दशार्द्धक ( cp प्रकटकलहकमुद्यमानं विशदकटविषाणी-स्त्रीणपद्मसदकरदकरसकुरसकुरककुदकूटमदसासमसासनाकाशे दशार्द्धक-मण्डलम्—p 306 Uc VI )

Bana tells us that ह्य ascended the throne immediately after the murder of his elder brother But Hiuen Tsang gives us a so newhat different information According to him minister Bhandin recommended to other ministers the choice of Harṣa as king They gladly acceded But Harṣa had his own scruples and hesitated for a while C V Vaidya observes that Harṣa had no compunction to ascend the throne of स्यातस्वर, but he had scruples to ascend that of Kamaṣ which legally belonged to राज्यधी, and which was offered to him So he consulted a Buddhistic Oracle ( वीधिसत्त्व अवशस्तिस्वर ) as Hiuen Tsang tells us ( see B R W W Vol I pp 211-213 ) And it was ordained that राज्यधी should rule

and Harṣa be her lieutenant. Harṣa then transferred his capital from ह्यनेश्वर to Kanauj. Mr. V. A. Smith has remarked : " Some unknown obstacle stood in the way of Harṣa's accession and compelled him to rely for his title to the crown upon election by the nobles rather than upon his hereditary claims [ cp. *Early History of India* (2nd edn.), p. 312 ]. We think C. V. Vaidya has fairly plausibly explained the situation. The consultation by Harṣa of the Buddhistic oracle seems to be created by Buddhist admires of Harṣa. We should also note that Bhagdin was not just a minister, but a close relative (maternal uncle's son) of Harṣa and was a very intimate friend of his. In age he was slightly senior to राज्यवर्धन.

Harṣa had two immediate tasks before him, when he came to the throne viz. ( i ) finding out राज्यवर्धन and ( ii ) avenging the murder of राज्यवर्धन. He first recovered his sister, who had resorted to the jungles of the Vindhya mountain. And then followed a long period of conquest, wherein in about six years, he conquered all kings of Northern India, including सम्राट्क. In this period he made himself the overlord of the whole of Northern India including Gujerat from the Himalayas to the Narmada and from the Bay of Bengal to Sindh. And he was crowned as a king in 612 A. D. and established an era in that year to commemorate his दिग्विजय.

He had a long reign of about 42 years and was the last Hindu Emperor of Northern India. Some of his conquests referred to in the हर्षचरित are his conquest over the king of हिन्दु and his securing taxes from Himalayan territories. cp " अत्र पुरुषोत्तमेन त्रिपुराजं प्रमथ्य लक्ष्मीराजमीकृता । ... अत्र परमेश्वरेण तुषारशीलभुवो दुर्गायां गृहीतः करः " हर्ष० p. 147-8

About his relations with गुप्त much has already been discussed above. About his two boyhood companions कुमारगुप्त and माधवगुप्त, the two मालव princes, we do not hear much later on. But he seems to have crowned कुमारगुप्त, the elder of those two cp अत्र देवनाभिविक्क कुमारः ।—हर्ष० p. 148 and the comm. thereon. माधवगुप्त, the younger of the two मालव princes, and a special

favourite of हर्ष was probably crowned as the king of Magadha (cp. The Apsad stone inscription which speaks of माधवगुप्त of मगध who was anxious to meet the glorious हर्ष (cp. C. I. Vol. III p. 200, 204 धीहर्षदेवनिजसूत्रमवाच्छया च ।) For further information about the Guptas of Magadha see Dr. Fleet's 'Gupta Inscriptions' (pp. 200-218). Kubera, one of Bāṇa's ancestors was honoured by several गुप्त. cp. अनेकनुष्ठार्चितपादपद्मजः कुबरेनामाश इव स्वयमुवः ॥ 'Kād. Int. Ver. 10

Another royal family with whom Harṣa came in close contact was the मोक्षरि. His sister राज्यधौ was married to ब्रह्मर्षी son of ब्रह्मनीवर्मा of the मोक्षरि family, whose capital was at कान्यकुब्ज. Bāṇa informs us that the मोक्षरि were a very eminent family of क्षत्रिय and were great devotees of Śiva. For more particulars about मोक्षरि, see Dr. Fleet's Gupta inscriptions pp 219-230. The name of the family is spelt as मोक्षरि or मोक्षर. For the word मोक्षरि cp. Kād Intro V. 4 "नमामि सर्वोच्चरत्नान्मृजय सरोक्षरै-र्मोक्षरिभिः कृतान्नम् ।" and the words 'सर्ववर्मा मोक्षरि' from the Asirgad Copper plate of सर्ववर्म्मा (C. I. Vol. III p. 220). For the word 'मोक्षर' cp 'मोक्षराणां ममज्ञान' from the Jaunpur stone inscription of ईश्वरवर्म्मा (C. I. Vol. III p 229). The मोक्षरि and गुप्त were often at war (see Apsad stone inscription-C. I. Vol. III pp. 200, 203.)

Harṣacarita tells us that King Kumāra alias Bhaskaravarman of Pragjyotisa (Assam) had formed a close friendship with हर्ष just on the eve of Harṣa's career of world-conquest. Hsuan Tsang corroborates this information when he tells us how once Harṣa and Kumārārāja kept company in a journey towards Kanauj, with Harṣa going along the northern bank of the Ganga and कुमारराज the southern bank (B. R. W. W. Vol I pp 217-218, see also Vol. II pp 196-198)

Harṣa's one and only defeat came at the hands of king Pulakeśin II the greatest of the Calukyas of Badami, on the banks of Narmada, in 620 A. D. Pulakeśin II was the lord of South India, just as Harṣa was of North India (see B. R. W. W. Vol II pp 256-257, V. A. Smith's 'Early History of India' p 313). The battle between the two great monarchs was a very great and a very

close battle The victor as well as the vanquished lost heavily therein and they agreed to make Narmadā as their dividing boundary. Harṣa thus remained in possession of entire Northern India from Himālayas to Narmadā and from Kamarūpas to Gujarat and Saurashtra There are various inscriptional references to this episode cp. “अपरिमितविभूतिस्फीतसामन्तसेनामकुटमणिमयूखा-  
न्नन्तपादारविन्दः । युधि पतितगजे-द्वानीकबीभत्सभूतो भयविमलितहृषो येन  
चाकारि हर्षं ॥—E I Vol 6 p 6 and I A. Vol. VIII p 242, ‘समर-  
रासक्तसकलोल्लसपयेश्वरश्रीहर्षवर्धनपराजयोपलब्धपरमेश्वरापरनामधेयस्य सत्वा-  
श्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरस्य प्रियतमयः”—I A Vol VI  
p 76, the words ‘समर ..नामधेय’ recur on p 86 *ibid*, In I. A.  
Vol. VIII p 13 सस्याधय is spoken of as ‘जेतुदिशा विजितहर्षमहा-  
मपस्य’). Harṣa last campaign on record is that of subjugating  
the district of Ganjam on the coast of the Bay of Bengal in  
643 A. D.

Acc. to Hsien Tsang, Kānyakubja was the capital of Harṣa (B R W. W. Vol I p 209) Bṛha mentions that Harṣa's family capital was श्याश्वीश्वर. The explanation of this discrepancy probably is that when Hsien Tsang met Harṣa (probably about 643 A. D.,) Kānyakubja must have been one of the capitals of Harṣa's vast empire After गृहवर्मा was killed and राज्यश्री became a Buddhist convert, the kingdom of Kānyakubja seems to have passed on to Harṣa and Kānyakubja, more centrally situated in Harṣa's vast empire, seems to have been made a second capital thereof.

According to Hsien Tsang Harṣa belonged to the Vaisya caste. But probably he is confusing the vaṣya caste with the Bṛha class of the Rajputs who were Kṣatriyas (B R. W. W. Vol. I p. 209, n 129) Because Harṣa seems to be a क्षत्रिय and not a वैश्य for the following reasons:—(1) Bṛha never suggests that Harṣa was not a क्षत्रिय (2) राज्यश्री was married to गृहवर्मा a scion of the famous and ancient kṣatriya family of मोसरि (3) Harṣa's mother यशोमती seems to be born in a family known for heroism and religion cp. ‘यमंयवले कुलं जाता हर्षं V p 283, वीरजा वीरजाया वीरजननी च’ etc. हर्ष V. p 284) Some scholars feel she might be the daughter of यशोवर्धन विजयप्रिय of Ujjayini Her parents were probably living when she courted death (cp. ‘अग्नं तानं न पश्यन् पापी परलोकात्प्रतिपद्यते’



माम्—हर्ष V. p 281 ) (4) प्रभावर्त्तन's mother महाविमलपुत्रा seems to have been the sister of महानुवृत्त of मगध.

Harsha established an era of his own which commenced in 606 A D and several inscriptions dated in this era have been recovered (see I A Vol 26, p 32, and E. I Vol V Appendix p 73 ff) Alberuni's account of this era, as Mm Kane notes, is most confusing According to Alberuni (1) Harsha's era was used in Mathura and the country of Kanoj (2) An interval of 400 years separates श्रीहर्ष and विजयादित्य But according to Kashmirian calendar the era of श्रीहर्ष was 664 years later than विजयादित्य [ Vide Alberuni ed. by Sachau Vol II p 5 (Trübner) and Cunningham's 'Indian Eras' pp 64-65 ]

Harsha was the last great Hindu King of Northern India. His sister सम्यग्री, assuming yellow robes, was a devoted companion and counsellor to Harsha. Harsha left no heir behind and the empire broke up after his death in 648 A. D. (647 A D according to Prof Kangle).

**Harsha as a King and Administrator.**—After the conquest of Northern India and subsequent coronation in 612 A D Harsha ruled his kingdom for 35 years, marked by peace, progress, prosperity and piety. The unsuccessful war with Pulakesin II and the successful subjugation of Gajjam were the only military undertakings during that period. All the northern India was under his sway and his suzerainty was accepted by rulers of Valabhi, Nepal and Assam.

Harsha was a strong, vigorous and benevolent ruler. Indefatigable like Asoka in discharge of his duties the king often toured his realm, supervising the work of his officers. Education was widely diffused and Brahmanical *ashramas* and Buddhistic monasteries were richly endowed. Harsha got built several temples, monasteries *stupas* and *dharma-shalas*. In the *dharma-shalas* not only food and drink was provided for the needy but even doctors attended on the sick.

In point of religion Harsha was a very tolerant person. The Mahasthan copper plate describes him as *समन्वित* (a great devotee

of Śiva ), but later or in his life he was strongly inclined towards Buddhism, particularly under the moulding influence of his sister राज्ञश्री and the famous Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang. But Harṣa did not lose his reverence for Śiva or sun. He has built costly temples in honour of Buddha, Śiva and the sun. All these three deities were worshipped at his assembly, and his charity was enjoyed by Brahmanas, Buddhists and Jains alike.

The Chinese Pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who visited India in quest of Buddhist scriptures stayed in Harṣa's dominions for 8 years (635 A D —643 A D ). He has left extensive memoirs of that Age and life and work of Harṣa. Harṣa fell under the influence of this "Master of Law" in whose honour a grand assembly was held at Kanauj, the capital, the aim of which was to proclaim the doctrine of Mahāyāna Buddhism as expounded by Hiuen Tsang. After this assembly he was called to another great assembly at Prayag,—the sixth of the quinquennial assemblies at which Harṣa used to distribute treasures to holy men of different religions—Buddhists, Hindus and Jainas—and the poor and the destitute. Harṣa did not live to hold another such assembly.

**Harṣa as a poet and patron of Literature.**—Harṣa was not only a great warrior and administrator but a great man of letters and a great patron of learning. He is the author of three dramas—प्रियदर्शिका, रत्नावली and नागानन्द, which though not on par with the masterpieces of Kalidasa or Bhavabhūti are still quite good dramas and "they have a peculiar simplicity, correctness and charm which have endeared them to the writers on works of dramaturgy." The Nāgananda has a Buddhistic bias.

Besides these three dramas हर्ष is credited with the authorship of the सुप्रभातस्तोत्र and अष्टमहाश्वीर्चनस्तोत्र two Sanskrit poems with Buddhistic subject-matter, which in the colophon bear the name श्रीहर्ष ( But in the Tibetan Tanjur and in Minayeff's Mss the former is ascribed to king हर्षदेव of काश्मीर.—*vide* J. R. A. S. for 1903 p. 704 ) These are printed in Maurice Ettinghausen's 'Harṣa - Vardhana.' Besides these about a dozen occasional stanzas, not found in his extant works are found in acedologies, ascribed to his name. In the Madhuban inscription a verse composed by

श्रीहर्षं is quoted ( कर्मणां मनसा वाचा वर्तव्य प्राणिने हितम् । हर्षेणैतन् समाख्यात धर्मात्रं नमस्तुतमम् ॥ ”—this being हर्ष's advice to his subjects) And the verse descriptive of राजवर्षेण in the same inscription may be from Harṣa's pen as Mm Kane thinks क्षीरस्वामिन् a commentator on Am arakośa has mentioned a कौश्वार हर्ष ( cp मङ्गलमृत्यु-मंरक मरिमारी च देवतेति श्रीहर्ष. on वातुरोऽन्यमितोऽन्यान्त ). The सुभाषिता-वलि cites a verse of श्रीहर्षं which is not found in his extant works cp. “असद्वलोलमज्जित्वा स्यागिनमनुरागिण विशेषतम् । यदि नाययति नर श्री. श्रीरेव हि वञ्चिता तत्र ॥”—No. 233 in सुभाषितावलि The same verse occurs as No 470 in the शास्त्रगंधरपद्धति without specifying the author. Jayadava in his प्रसन्नराघव I 20 has called हर्षं as “the joy of Poesy.”

Harṣa was a great patron of literature. His munificent patronage was enjoyed by बाण, मयूर, मातङ्गदिवाकर and others. In सुभाषितावलि we have a verse of मयूर in which a certain unnamed king—ostensibly हर्ष— is praised ( cp No 2515 — “भूवाला- वसि. मास्कराज्यमनुव वे नाम नासादिना भर्तार पुनरेवमेव हि भुवला देव मम्यामहे । येनाद्र्य परिमृष्य कुन्तलमसाहृष्य वृद्धस्यामर्तं चोक्त प्राप्य च मध्यदेशमधुना वाञ्छया कर पातित ॥”) It will be noticed that the wordsअद्रा, कुन्तल, चोल मध्यदेश and वाञ्छी are paronomastic ) We have quoted at the beginning of this chapter a verse from गारुडमृच्चय, a commentary on the Kāvya-prakāśa, in which verse Harṣa's liberality towards Baṇa is praised

**Harṣa's Date**—We have already discussed in Chap II how Harṣa's date is historically quite definite. Evidence from Indian sources ( literary and inscriptional ) and from Chinese sources, yields exact chronological details about Harṣa. He was born on 4th June 590 A. D., and reigned from 606 A. D. to 643 A. D. The details about ‘Harṣa's date’ need not be repeated over here, for these are fully covered in chapter II while discussing Baṇa's Date

## CHAPTER IV

### BĀṆA'S WORKS

“रुचिरस्वरवर्णपदा रमभाखली जगन्मनो हरति ।  
 रतिक सन्धी, नहि, नहि, चाणी बाणस्य मधुरसीलम् ॥”

—पर्वदासकृते विद्याधमप्रमण्डने

Bāṇa is the master of Sanskrit गद्यवाच्य as Kālidāsa is the master of Sanskrit गद्यवाच्य and दृश्यकाव्य. And as soon as one speaks of Bāṇa, one inevitably thinks of his two well-known prose masterpieces viz (1) The Harṣacarita (an Ākhyāyikā) and (2) The Kadambarī (a Katha). The two are the well known works of Bāṇa and we shall be devoting the next two chapters (V and VI) for a detailed study of these two. Naturally in this chapter we would discuss about some other works which are ascribed to Bāṇa's authorship, with a greater or lesser degree of authenticity in individual cases.

A third work ascribed to Bāṇa is the चण्डीसतक. It is a work containing a hundred verses in शार्ङ्गविरचित metre, in which goddess Candī, a form of Kālī, is praised. In every verse there is a reference to some incident in the fight between काली and महिषासुर. Its source is the देवीमाहात्म्य (ch 80) of the मार्कण्डेयपुराण. There is nothing implausible in Bāṇa's having composed an eulogium to Candī, because चण्डी is a form of लक्ष्मी for whom Bāṇa has a great regard. In his कादम्बरी also Bāṇa has given a powerful and picturesque description of the temple of लक्ष्मी. Verses from चण्डीसतक are quoted in the सङ्ख्यगीताभाष्य कान्यप्रकाश and अर्जुनवर्मदेव टीका on अमरसतक अर्जुनवर्मदेव (p 3) expressly ascribes the authorship of Candīsataka to Bāṇa cp “उत्तमिन्द्र च मृदुवाणेनैवमिन्द्र एव रामस्य प्रस्तावे देव्यारतदम्भिनभिर्मगवता भगणे सह प्रीतिप्रतिपादनम् बहुधा नमो यथा दण्डाकाशकतुष्टि & c (v 37 of चण्डीसतक). “The Candīsataka of Bāṇa, the Suryasataka of Mayura and the Bhaktāmarastotra of Mānatunga” says Dr Peterson “are the three opposing poems written by devotees of one or other of the great forms of religion which flourished side by side under Harṣa's protection.” There are commentaries on Candīsataka by Dhaneśvara, by Nagojibhāṭṭa by Bhaskararaya and another anonymous.”



verses quoted in anthologies as Bana's show that Bana's was good at verse as in prose. Dr P L Vaidya, however, says about the above quotation from क्षेमेन्द्र's जी. वि. च. — "कदाचित्क्षेमेन्द्रविरचितात् पद्यकादम्बरीनाम्नो ग्रन्थादेव बलोऽको यमुद्धृतः स्यात् ।" We demur in view of क्षेमेन्द्र's wording given above.

Bana might have written yet another (ninth) work according to Kṛṣṇamacariar who says, "Bana was probably also a philosopher, for आनन्दजीविन् in his commentary सत्त्वविवेक on अनुभवानन्द's व्याय-रत्नदीपावलि, gives a reference to a work of बाण on वेदान्त."

Now we come to the पार्वतीपरिणय, a drama ascribed to Bana which has raised a lot of debate about its authorship. Actually in the prologue of the play the author is specifically mentioned to be बाण of the वत्स गोत्र cp अस्ति कविसार्वभौमो वत्साम्बयजलधिसम्भवो बाण । नृत्यति यद्रत्ननाया वेधोमूललासिका बाणी ॥—P P I 4. Our Bana is also a descendant of वत्सगोत्र. And there is no inherent impossibility in his having composed this drama. The subject matter is the same as that of Kalidasa's कुमारसम्भव, and similarities of words and thought between the two works are many, as we [shall notice later on. Some scholars feel, on account of these similarities that Bana could not have written a drama which draws so much on Kalidasa. Some minor plagiarist must have composed the drama. But this is not a convincing argument. There is no wonder if Bana now and then were to draw upon his illustrious predecessor. Particularly in view of the fact that he had a great admiration for Kalidasa and secondly that he was probably a novice at work at that time, such debt is quite plausible. Further the subject matter of पार्वतीपरिणय was very similar to earlier part of the Kumara-sambhava. Have not great writers like Kalidasa and Shakespeare also drawn much on their predecessors? Who can deny Kalidasa's debt to the Rāmāyaṇa, Bhaṣa, or Bhagavadgītā, amongst others? Some scholars argue that पार्वतीपरिणय is not Bana's work because it compares unfavourably in thought and style with the हर्षचरित and कादम्बरी. This also is no argument. The पार्वतीपरिणय was written probably when Bana just was finding his way to literary art and finding his bearings. Is not even the Harṣacarita much inferior to Kādambārī?

We feel that Parvatiparnaya seems to be from Baga's pen. Our reasons are (1) There are many ideas and turns of expression which are very similar, in the पार्वतीपरिणय on the one hand and the हर्षचरित or कादम्बरी on the other. (a) हिमवान् दधि, अयदपि श्रूयताम् । कुचयुगलं परिच्छिद्य यथा यथा वृद्धिमेति तन्वद्भ्याम् । वरचिन्ता हृतमनमस्तथा तथा वात्सल्यमिति म गात्रम्—॥' पा० I 15 and 'उद्वेगमहावर्ते पातयति पयो घरोन्नयनकाले । मरिदेव ततमनुवर्षे विवर्धमाना सुता पितरम् ॥ दधि, तरणी मूढा घसा राज्यश्री यौवनारम्भ एव च कथयानामिघनीभवन्ति पितरं सन्नारानलस्य । हृदयमसकाशयति म दिवसमिव पयावरात्रतिरस्या ।'—हर्ष IV ॥ 234, (4) न वित्तस्यता हि वरवती—पा p 21 and न हि शक्य देव-मन्यथा कर्तुमभिमुखेनार्पि—कादम्बरी p 62 (c) दत्तुन परिजनपरमापोर्मत्तोऽपि &c पा p 15 and मामपि विकुक्षिनामान मृत्युपरमाणुमदधारयतु भवती हर्ष p 41 (2) There are many broad similarities between पार्वतीपरिणय and हर्षचरित or कादम्बरी (a) The description of preparations of Parvati's marriage in पा V is reminiscent of that of preparations for राज्यश्री's marriage in हर्ष० IV (b) The arrival of Śiva for marriage in पा V is reminiscent of arrival of प्रह्वर्मा for marriage in हर्ष० IV (c) The devotion of Baga for Śiva is found in Parvatiparnaya (cp e g P IV 3) as in Harṣacarita or Kadambari. So also the description of Śiva in पा (p 13) 'तस्य पुन गौरीपरिचरणम्' is Vedantic in tone as in other works of Baga (3) The prose of the drama, as Mm Kane observes, reminds one of कादम्बरी and हर्षचरित

Mm Kane also, like us, does not agree with those who feel that Baga could not have written the पार्वतीपरिणय, though he would admit the relative inferiority of the पार्वतीपरिणय to the two prose works of Baga. Mm Kane also remarks that Baga was generally handicapped in verse. Mr Kane also feels that पार्वतीपरिणय is quite likely to be Baga's composition, though, it must have been his first attempt before his poetical faculties were developed.

Panfil R. V. Kṛṣṇamacariar has discussed the authorship of पार्वतीपरिणय in his edition of the drama in Vaidya Vilasa Sanskrit Series, Srirangam and in a paper published in the proceedings of the third All India Oriental Conference of Madras (1974) pp

68 69, and he as attributed the drama to वामनभट्टवाण alias अभिनव वाण, an author of the 15th century A D ( who has also composed the नलाभ्युदय, शृङ्गारभूषणभाण, वेमभूषालचरित etc ). on aesthetie and historical grounds T Ganapatisastri in his Introduction to Nalabhyudaya also feels likewise Dr Keith also believes that पार्वतीपरिणय is by वामनभट्टवाण of 15th century A D who wrote about 1400 A D under the Reddi prince Vema of Kondaividu, and says that it owes its fame to its being mistaken for the work of Bana. He cites the support of R Schmidt, but does not argue his case. Mm Kane has the following opinion on the viewpoint of Kṛṣṇa-macariar and oihres. The argument's of these eminent scholars fail to convince. One of their main arguments is the non-metion and non-quoting of the पार्वतीपरिणय by writers on poetics. This is a negative argument and proves nothing positive. Secondly while attempting to show that the author of the play was वामनभट्टवाण alias अभिनव वाण, a protege of the Reddi king वेम alias वीरनारायण, they give no explanation as to why the author of the पार्वतीपरिणय calls himself simply as Bana, when वामनभट्ट वाण refers to himself as वामनभट्ट वाण or अभिनव वाण.

Now we shall give an Act by Act synopsis of the drama पार्वतीपरिणय and give a few critical remarks thereon.

( Act I ) We find the drama opening with two Nandi verses— one in praise of Parvati's glances at the time of her marriage and the second glorifying the power of cupid—and then after the stage direction नाट्यन्ते, the मूषधार enters. The मूषधार pays homage to the primeval Divine couple ( ostensibly Siva and Parvati ), scatters a handful of flowers and calls the नटी. He tells that they are to present that day a new Rūpak, which is composed by a famous poet named वाण of the वत्सगोत्र ( अस्मिन् ऋषिगार्ग्यभूमौ वत्सान्वयजलविमम्भवो वाण । नृत्यति रद्रसनाया वेधोमुखलासिका वाणी ॥ ) the drama though new, is bound to succeed, because it has (i) सविधानस्य सामग्र्यम् (ii) रमणा परिपुष्टता and (iii) सादृशं सौकुमार्यम्. It is also विचित्रसविधान. He learns that his wife is worried about the marriage of their daughter वाञ्छविकार. The मूषधार assures that the creator arranges to find out suitable bridegrooms for girls so she need not worry. Here, for example, he says, is the divine



sage Narada who is exerting to get the daughter of Himalaya suitably married. And herewith ends the प्रस्तावना and the main scene begins.

Narada enters, travelling by aerial path, planning to bring about the marriage of Parvati (who in earlier birth was दाशायणी) and Siva, for the good of the gods (the description of Narada's descent to the earth is very reminiscent of Du-janta's descent in Sak VII). He descends in the precincts of Himalaya, and admires the eminence and majesty of that lord of mountains. He calls at the palace of हिमवान्, and learns that हिमवान् is discussing something with his Queen Mena and decides to see them.

Then are shown Himavan and Mena in discussion, and the topic is the plan for the marriage of their marriageable daughter Gauri (we find here a close similarity to a talk between प्रभाकर-वर्चन and यशोमती about the marriage of their daughter राज्यद्री, in the दृश्यचरित्). While the two are expressing their anxiety about getting their daughter suitably married, Narada ushers himself, and after formal courtesies suggests that Parvati should be married to a worthy bridegroom. He also prophesies that Parvati, who is a reincarnation of a 'दुरातनी रात्रि', would attain a 'विद्याधिप' वर, Narada, however, does not mention Siva by name just now. He suggests that Parvati should wait upon Lord Siva, who is practising penance on the slopes of Himalaya. Thus, having introduced the 'seed' of action, Narada leaves Himalaya, guessing what Narada is working at, leaves with his Queen. They would ask Parvati to follow Narada's advice and here ends the first act.

(Act II) The act opens with a small interlude (Prave'saka, wrongly called vakambhaka in N. S. P. Edn) in which there is a conversation between दारुतिष्ठा, a वनदेवता and रम्भा an अप्सरम-वर्तिष्ठा is going to Nandanavana to fetch flowers required by Siva. While रम्भा is out to meet her lover तरुणर, son of इंद्र, avoiding the other friends of hers who are in the caves of mountain Meru lurking there through fear of Taraka. Rambha, finding separation unbearable is on an अनितर mission. From the conversation

between these two we learn how Taraka is harassing the world, and also how Parvati has started to propitiate Lord Siva

Then are shown Indra and Brhaspati in conversation. A देवदूत named देवल brings fresh reports of तारक's depredations in heaven. Indra assures him that steps are being taken against the danger and the trouble would soon be eliminated. When the देवदूत departs, इंद्र and बृहस्पति discuss the danger posed by तारक and the remedy prophesied by Brahman that Taaka would be killed by son of Siva and Parvati, who would be the Commander-in chief of gods. How to bring about this marriage? Indra has got the heartening news from Rambha that Parvati has started the propitiation of Siva. Then Indra thinks of commissioning Madana to affect Siva with love. Madana, requested to undertake a task for the good of gods, says he would accomplish any exploit—even of conquering Siva! Brhaspati then tells Madana that his task shall be just to conquer Siva. Madana is inwardly taken aback. He has boasted about his prowess, and the boast is now spelling his disaster. Even वसन्त and रति are gravely concerned about the task. But काम is a person of honour and magnanimity. He, an insignificant servant, would undertake any task for the good of gods! The act ends with Madana leaving with Vasanta and Rati, on his errand, receiving the blessings and good wishes of Indra and Brhaspati, but with an apprehensive mind and Indra and Brhaspati also leave, hoping for the best by grace of gods.

(Act III) Indra and Brhaspati enter. Indra is wondering whether the mission of Madana would succeed. He has an ill omen viz the throbbing of the left eye. Just then there arrives Narada, who had followed Madana invisibly to observe things as per Indra's direction. Narada narrates the happenings. When Madana reached near स्यावाश्रम, he requested Vasanta to display his glory in the forest and accordingly the whole atmosphere was full of the signs of spring like the cooing of cuckoos, Malaya breeze and the like. Trees blossomed. Siva was disturbed from his meditation. Just then came on the scene पार्वती. While Parvati saluted Siva and the lord blessed her, 'सुतस्य, यमप्रासादम्', Madana fixed his समोहन बाण on his bow. For a while Siva and

Parvati looked at each other with an emotional surge in the heart but Siva forthwith controlled his disturbed mind and looked on all sides for the cause of the disturbance. And he espied Madana about to aim at himself. And lo ! a fire blazed out from the third eye of Siva and reduced Madana to ashes. Indra fainted to hear this tragedy and Narada comforted and revived him. Rati and Vasanta, continued Nārada, fainted. Vasanta revived first and he revived Rati, who began to lament embracing the charred body of her lord. A voice from the sky assured her that her lord would be revived when Siva marries Parvati. Narada further tells how the disconsolate Rati was taken home by Vasanta, how Siva disappeared to avoid any meeting with a lady, and how Himālaya took the fainting Paravati home. Narada himself goes to report matters to Brahma. There arrives Rambhā on the scene and informs Indra that she had heard in Kubera's abode about the burning of cupid, and she had also heard there that Parvati, disappointed by the death of Madana has embarked upon rigorous penances to get Siva as her lord. Her mother tried to wean her from the ordeal without success, while father Himavan has approved of the idea. The act is then wound up.

(Act IV) Nandin enters, entrusted by Siva with the task of verifying about the determination of Pārvaṭī and about her penances, from her friends Jaya and Vijaya. Nandin is struck by the firm determination and rigour of the penances of Parvati. Then are shown Jaya and Vijaya collecting flowers, Nandin learns from them the purpose behind Parvati's penance viz, obtaining Siva as her Lord. He is told how Parvati became lovesick after the मदनदाह episode and how with no other way of achieving her objective she decided upon severe penances to attain her objective. Nandin suggests that she should desist from the futile pursuit to marry this कीतरागाणा अश्वरी and should marry some other god. But Jaya and Vijaya tell him that Parvati's attitude is 'do or die'. Nandin inwardly happy, goes to inform Siva about the news while the two lady friends of Parvati carry flowers to Parvati. Here the मिथविजयम्भ ends. In the main scene Siva enters dressed as a Brahmacarin. He has in his mind already decided to relent and accept Parvati. Parvati is next shown practising penance and

accompanied by her friends Jaya and Vijaya. Parvati has the good omen of वामाक्षिस्य दन and जया suggests that her desire is probably going to be fulfilled soon. Just then Jaya notices a young ascetic coming that side. Parvati tells the two friends to worship the guest and she takes to silence. The guest is received duly, and after usual courtesies, the young ascetic inquires about the identity and purpose of their penancing friend. Learning of Parvati's objective, he wonders whether there is any person worth being hankered for by पार्वती. When he learns that पार्वती is seeking to marry Siva, he expresses wonder that she should think of marrying such an unworthy person. He indulges in a lot of censure of Siva, but Paravati admonishes him curtly and decides to withdraw from the place to avoid hearing शिवनिन्दा, a great sin. Then Siva presents himself and proposes a गान्धर्व marriage forthwith. But at जया's suggestion he agrees to undergo the formality of marriage ceremony at Himavan's house after five days, and the girls return to their elders and Siva to his to get the marriage preparations working.

(Act V) The act opens with the entry of a Kancukin who is directed by हिमवान् to supervise the city decorations for the marriage of पार्वती that day. He finds that all the city has been decorated and has gone gay. He reports the matter to हिमवान् who inquires about the arrival of all the guests viz. mountains, gandharvas, Apsarases etc. He is told that all have come. He enjoins the Kancukin to look after the proper reception of all and also see that the decoration of पार्वती is attended to in the harem. Then enters Narda who greets हिमवान् on the auspicious occasion. Parvati's decoration is described in detail. Then arrives the bridegroom in procession. The marriage rites are conducted by Bṛhaspati. Brahma blesses the marriage (v. 32). Madana is revived by the grace of Siva and the drama ends with happiness all around.

We find how Kalidasa's shadow hangs over the drama as a whole. The following main points of close similarities between पार्वतीरक्षित and कुमारसम्भव (and occasionally some other works of कालिदास) shall be enough to show this.

## पार्वतीपरिणय.

## Kalidāsa's Works.

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|---|--|
| (1) I 9, 10   | (1) Śak VII 8  |
| (2) हिमालय is called देवतात्मा<br>on p: 4   | (2) हिमालय is called देवतात्मा in<br>कुमार I :       |
| (3) I 21  | (3) Śak I 1  |
| (4) Details about पार्वती's re-<br>actions to the मदनदाह epi-<br>sode in Act III  | (4) Reaction to मदनदाह episode<br>in Kumara II L & V |
| (5) IV 9  | (5) Kum V 4, 48                                      |
| (6) P 30 'गृहीतलनुरिष प्रथमाश्रमो<br>यदा'   | (6) Ku V 30 d 'सरीरबद्ध प्रथमा'<br>श्रमो यदा'        |
| (7) IV 11   | (7) Ku V 41  |
| (8) P 31 "कोज्जा... वठिनहृदय"।  | (8) Ku. V 47   |
| (9) IV 12-13  | (9) Ku V 66-73                                       |
| (10) P. 32 'हला साहि दाव नम्' which seems to be a corrupt<br>form of original text which<br>should read 'महापुरिसिन्धु-<br>मालिनी आरिस पाव तासि<br>गुणवदा ता' | (10) Ku. V 83 cd.                                    |

We find that for a novice Bāṇa has given us a fairly good drama. There are some good उपमास (e.g. III 13, IV 29) some good मुद्रापित्त like 'भवितव्यता हि बलीयसी' or 'प्रवृत्तिरतिनानि खलु स्त्रीणां वेद्यानि'. In descriptions and delineation of sentiments, there is obviously a Kalidāsaian influence. Though नाट्यशास्त्र does not permit to depict a marriage or other religious rites on the stage, Bāṇa in his पार्वतीपरिणय does not hesitate to choose as his theme the nuptials of Śiva and Pārvatī. We find that after the two नान्दी verses, the सूत्रधार enters, and like a सूत्रधार in a भाग्य play, has his own नान्दी again so to say. Was Bāṇa trying to bring a compromise between a traditional beginning and a सूत्रधारवृत्तारम्भ drama? Anyway पार्वतीपरिणय in some measure reminds one of Bāṇa's verse in Haracaṇṭa Introduction, wherein he describes some special feature of Bhāsa's dramas, and which Bāṇa in a way attempts to imitate.

Lastly we come to the alleged authorship by Bāga of रत्नावली. In the काव्यप्रकाश we get a remark that बाण obtained money from हर्ष (cp. श्रीहर्षदिर्वाणादीनामिव धनम्—काव्यप्रकाश I). This led a few scholars to believe, relying on a Kashmir tradition that the drama रत्नावली was really written by Bāga and it was permitted to go under the name of Harṣa for monetary return. But this is hardly convincing. For, Harṣa is the author of three dramas viz. त्रिप्रदक्षिणा, रत्नावली and नागानन्द. The prologues of all these three plays are very similar. They all specifically mention हर्ष as the author in each case. There are numerous similarities of word and thought in the three dramas which show a common authorship. None has questioned Harṣa's authorship of त्रिप्रदक्षिणा and नागानन्द nor attributed them to Bāga. Then how can only रत्नावली be ascribed to Bāga in fairness? (Dr. P. L. Vaidya says that all these three dramas are ascribed by some to बाण. But does not mention who these 'some' are. We are not aware of them).

It should be noted that these dramas are cited by many आलङ्कारिक and they have not raised a doubt about Harṣa's authorship thereof. Thus for example रत्नावली is referred to in दामोदर-गुप्त's कुट्टनीमत (8th cent. A. D.) रत्नावली and नागानन्द are quoted in खन्त्याली (p 150 and 176 resp.) The रत्नावली is quoted at least a score of times and नागानन्द and त्रिप्रदक्षिणा on a fewer occasions in धनञ्जय's दशह्व. But nowhere has the slightest hint been given about Bāga's authorship of रत्नावली or any of the other two plays. Kāśmīra, the learned critic and himself a Kashmirian quotes some verses from रत्नावली and attributes them to श्रीहर्ष (cp. In the वविकण्ठाभरण—सन्धि V “इन्द्रजालपरिचयो यथा श्रीहर्षस्य एव ब्रह्मा सरोजे &c (R. IV 11). In जीवित्यविचारवर्ण he quotes the following verses as श्रीहर्ष's—‘परिमल &c (R. II 12); विद्यान्त-विग्रहकवः &c’ (R. I 8), ‘उदायोत्कलिका &c’ (R. II 4), भयानके यथा श्रीहर्षस्य ‘कण्ठे कृत्तावद्येय’ अपि च ‘चट् वर्षवदः’ &c (R. II 2-3)] Marmara himself has never said that Bāga got money by ascribing his रत्नावली to हर्ष. He seems to be referring to the wealth which बाण got from हर्ष as a court poet of the latter. As Prin. Gajendragadkar says: “The phenomenon of king-poets

which appears a novelty to westerners, was by no means uncommon to India. We have such glorious examples as भर्तृहरि, सुद्रक, श्रीहर्ष, यशोवर्मा, भोजराज and others." The wealth obtained by Bāṇa from Harṣa is also referred to in the verse 'हेमो भारतानि' etc, quoted by us at the beginning of Chap III. As a whole the ascription of any of हर्ष's three dramas to Bāṇa's authorship seems to be totally unwarranted. And Mm. Kane, Prin. Gajendragadkar, Dr. P. L. Vaidya etc (practically all leading scholars) are on our side in this conclusion.

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## Chapter V

### THE HARŚACARITA

“ वाणस्य ह्येचरिते निश्चिन्नायुदीक्ष्य सन्नित न वेऽय नवितासुमद त्यजति । ”

—सोऽद्वल्लय

The Harśacarita is a pioneer attempt in Sanskrit Literature to write a *राजकाव्य* on a historical theme. But though it has a historical thread as its basis, and is a valuable record for contemporary social and historical details, in the paucity of other records, still its value as a historical document should not be over-rated. For we find fancy and imagination freely mixed with the thread of actual history. Several points of interest like the names and identity of the Malava and Gauda kings, who respectively assassinated Grahavarman and Rājyavardhana is left obscure. It is left to Hsuen Tsang to give the name of the latter as *राजादक*, though the former is not named by him too. Chronology of persons and events in the Harśacarita is weak and confused to some extent. And so even if the work gives a close picture of the society of the day, we learn very little indeed about the political facts of the great emperor's reign as a whole.

And really this need not much surprise us because Harśacarita is written by Bana more as a romantic story than as sober history. A Sanskrit historical *kāvya* may have a historical theme, but the treatment thereof is hardly historical in style or spirit. Indians, though not totally lacking a sense of history, certainly have no love for chronicling of events in a modern historian's way. Perhaps the Indian mind psychologically is more interested in the world of imagination than the world of facts, is more attracted by mythological heroes than contemporary ones. The Sanskrit theory of art also, in its emphasis on imaginative and impersonated creation, encouraged abstraction, admitted belief in fate and miracles, and had little feeling for the concrete facts and forces of human nature and human life. “Sanskrit writers of historical *kāvyas* are more poets than historians.”



The Harṣacarita has a literary as well as a historical and cultural importance. It corroborates in a remarkable way the social and historical information of the Harṣa Era left to us by the indefatigable Chinese traveller Hsuen Tsang. The Harṣacarita offers us a vivid picture of the Indian society, its religion and culture, its manners and customs, its arts and industries, as these existed more than thirteen hundred years ago. Bana gives masterly descriptions of court and village life, holding the mirror to the time as if "The court, the camp, the quiet villages, which then, as now, contained the great mass of population, and still more quiet monasteries and retreats whether of Brahmanas or Buddhists are all painted with singular power." Harṣacarita is thus a great social document as well. Dr Karambelkar has emphasized the importance of the इक्ष्वकु as (1) इक्ष्वकु (2) इक्ष्वकु and (3) a social document of the Harṣa era.

Harṣacarita and Kadambari are composed in the same ornate and elaborate style, both exhibit more or less the same merits and defects. But Harṣacarita is inferior to Kadambari as a literary work. It has more artificial puns and sound effects, it has more obsolete, obscure or provincial words; its characterisation is not as minute and subtle as that in Kadambari. "In the ease and flow of speech, in the force and vigour of thought and expression, and in the happy description of impulses, emotions and sentiments that sway human conduct, the Kadambari vastly excels the Harṣacarita." (h) Harṣacarita shows Bana's apprentice period, while Kadambari shows him as a master artist. But Harṣacarita certainly shows Bana's prospective promise as an author and shows his genius for imagery, description and characterisation. And as we have remarked earlier Harṣacarita has a special importance of its own. It is of great importance to the historian of ancient India. It gives an idea about the progress achieved in administration and communications, in medicine and other sciences in arts and crafts, in civilisation and culture as a whole. Only one regrets that Bana did not write about the entire career of his patron. Another point of note about Harṣacarita is that it supplies the definite lower limit for the dates of several authors or works which Bana

The *Harṣacarita* is a गद्यकाव्य containing eight chapters called उच्छ्वासः. At the beginnings there are 21 introductory verses. The Kerala University edition gives 23 introductory verses to हर्षचरित instead of 21 of the N S P. or Kane's edition. The additional verses are —

- (1) अविरतशब्दमहोत्थप्रदालितसकलभूतलकलङ्का ।  
मूनिभिरुपासिततीर्थं सरस्वती हरतु दुःखं व ॥
- (2) दर्शयन्ती मुखे स्वेद प्रस्तलन्ती पदे पदे ।  
कवञ्चिन्नीयते क्षम्या कथा नववचुरिव ॥

[(1) Comes at the very beginning before नमस्तुभ्यम्]

(2) comes between सुखप्रबोधः & जयति ज्वलत् ०]

At the beginning of उच्छ्वासः I to VIII there are two verses each. Further a few more verses are scattered in the work. The work begins with the mythical origin of the वत्स family to which Bāṇa belongs and abruptly ends at the recovery of राज्यधी by हर्ष in the main narrative of the हर्षचरित. We now give a detailed summary of the work.

**A summary of the *Harṣacarita* —**

(Uc. I) In the introductory verses, Bāṇa pays homage to Śaṃbhu (V. 1) and Umā (V 2), then he salutes Vyāsa (V 3) in the next three verses (VV 4-6) he laments over the lack of real good poets in the world, which is only too full of poetasters and plagiarists, then he refers to some regional stylistic peculiarities (V 7) and to the essential features of good poetry (V. 8). Paying a homage to भारवी कथा (V 9), Bāṇa then salutes the famous writers of आख्यायिकाs who preceded him (V. 10). Next he refers with admiration to several earlier works or authors. He first refers to वासवदत्ता (obviously a गद्यकाव्य) (V 11), then to the गद्यवद (prose composition) of मट्टार हरिचन्द्र (V. 12), then to मानवाहन's वीर (obviously सप्तमई) (V 13), next to प्रवरगेत's सेतु (= सेतुग्रन्थ) (V 14). Then he refers to भार्व's dramas (V 15) and Kālidāsa's मूर्तिस (V 16). He then mentions बह्वक्था (V. 17) and the उत्साहः composed by आनन्दराज (V 18). In the next verse (19) he proposes to undertake the ambitious task of writing the present आख्यायिका, then in V 20 describes some special features of an आख्यायिका and

winds up the introduction with an encomium to King Śyāhāṣa, his patron (V 21)

Then begins the narration of Bana's autobiography. Once upon a time the divine lord Brahma was seated in his assembly, waited upon by gods and sages. There was recitation of different Vedas going on and some disputes were arising amongst the learned on various academic topics. Just then the irritable sage Durvasas, who was at dispute with another sage Upamanyu ( 'मनु' acc Kerala Unī Edn ) recited a Saman with a tonal fault through anger. While other sages discreetly held their peace for fear of upsetting the wrathful sage, young सरस्वती, with her girlish innocence, smiled at that error. Durvasas flew into temper at once and poured water to curse the audacious सरस्वती who dared to laugh at him. The goddess सावित्री who was seated beside Brahma got up in anger to protest against Durvasas's rashness. There were protests and entreaties from gods, Durvasas's disciples and his father Atri, to Durvasas to desist from cursing सरस्वती, but Durvasas turned a deaf ear to these and cursed सरस्वती that she would go to the nether world (मर्त्यलोक). Savitri was about to give a countercurse to Durvasas, but Sarasvati interceded saying that Durvasas deserved honour as a Brahmin, it not for anything else.

Brahma took Durvasas severely to task for his intemperate behaviour, ill-suiting his ascetic garb, and assured सरस्वती that her curse would last only till she sees the face of a son born to her, and that सावित्री would keep her company during the sojourn in the nether world. Brahma then retired from the assembly and so did Sarasvati with Savitri. The sun soon set and night arrived. Savitri tried to console सरस्वती who was uneasy on account of the impending departure from heaven. She assured सरस्वती that she would soon get to the end of the curse period, by a devoted propitiation of Lord Siva. Sarasvati replied that with सावित्री as companion she is not worried about residence on earth or the curse, but she is sorry to miss the opportunity of serving Lord Brahma. Next morning सरस्वती, with सावित्री left for the nether world. She descended to earth alone. The end of Ch. 1. V. 1. descending. She saw from the sky the river हरिद्वती or यमुना

And सरस्वती and सावित्री resided in an arbour of creepers on the western bank of Sona

One day in the morning they saw a group of horsemen riding towards the place where they were staying. And in the midst of that group they saw a very charming youth of eighteen. And with him was a middle aged, fatish, bald companion, dressed in simple and charming garb. The youth having heard from his fore-runners about the pair of young divinely beautiful girls proceeded to meet them. Keeping his retinue at some distance he entered the region of the arbour along with that elderly companion of his. They were offered appropriate hospitality as guests by सावित्री and सरस्वती, and after some time सावित्री in a very gracious speech inquired about them. The elderly man told that the youth was दधीच son of च्यवन and सुक्या. He was born and bred till now at the house of his maternal grand-father king Maryata and now he was returning to his father's hermitage, just beyond the Sona, and that he himself was विकुक्षि, servant of शरति, sent as an escort to दधीच. The elderly man विकुक्षि politely inquired about the identity of and information about the two young girls. Savitri told that they wished to stay there for quite some time and their personal details would be known by दधीच and विकुक्षि in due course. दधीच expressed a hope that they would soon come to know about these details and suggested to विकुक्षि the continuation of the journey, which they did. And as they went out of sight having crossed Sona, Sarasvati who was intently looking at the youth turned away her gaze with great reluctance. सरस्वती was smitten by love and became love sick. Soon returned विकुक्षि on his return journey. From him they learnt that दधीच also is now in a vacant mood and is emaciated. He also informed that a messenger from him named मातृही would soon call on them. And next day Malati arrived with some servants and presented the compliments of दधीच to सरस्वती and सावित्री, both of whom were greatly drawn towards her. Then when at noon Savitri had gone to Sona for her bath Malati conveyed the message of love from दधीच to सरस्वती. सरस्वती conveyed her acceptance of दधीच's love and Malati returned with the glad tidings to दधीच to bring him back to meet his sweet-

heart Dadhica came that night, the lovers were united and passed more than a year just like one day. In due course सरस्वती conceived and gave birth to a son who was called सारस्वत. After the birth of the son, सरस्वती with सावित्री returned to heaven as per the stipulation by Brahma, and दधीच too agonised by her separation, repaired to the penance grove, after entrusting the task of bringing up his son, to अशमाला, the wife of a Brahmin brother of his. अशमाला had a son वत्स born the same day as सारस्वत, and the two boys grew together. सारस्वत had inherited by his father's blessing and mother's heredity all knowledge automatically and he imparted all that to his cousin वत्स. Then he established वत्स as a householder at प्रोतिकुट and himself joined his father for तपस्या at the forest. From वत्स arose the famous family of the वात्स्यायन्s, who were noted for the religious and scholarly attainments.

After a lapse of a long time in that family was born a great person, named बुधेर. He had four eminent sons अच्युत, ईशान, हर and वासुधन. वासुधन had one son only, the illustrious अर्यपति. अर्यपति had eleven sons मृगु, हस्त, गृवि, बवि, महीदत्त, धर्म, जानकदम्, विवशानु, अन्न, अहिदत्त, and विद्वन्त. Out of these, विवशानु had from his wife राजद्वी a son named बाण. बाण lost his mother in his childhood. And his father acted also the mother for him, very affectionately. And बाण grew up gradually and had his गृहकार्य like उपनयन duly performed. But when he was about fourteen, his father too died. बाण was greatly grieved. Gradually getting over grief, बाण for a while embarked on a wandering life in a miscellaneous company. बाण by his waywardness, became an object of disparagement of the elders. But after getting a varied and rich experience of the world in travelling बाण once more was attracted to his family-seat and family traditions of learning and religion. And the prodigal errant, who returned, was welcomed at home with open arms.

(Lc II) बाण dwelt happily at his native place which was a place replete with Vedic lore and ritual. Once when summer (रतन) had set in, the heat had become intense and there were hot winds blowing and forest conflagrations raging बाण who was

resting after meals one afternoon, was told about the arrival of a messenger from Kṛṣṇa, brother (cousin?) of Emperor Harṣa. Bāṇa directed that the messenger be ushered in quickly. The messenger had brought a letter and an oral message from Kṛṣṇa to Bāṇa. The oral message was: Kṛṣṇa has always felt a special regard for Bāṇa. He found that some wicked persons, ill disposed towards Bāṇa, had poisoned the Emperor's ears against Bāṇa, and the Emperor had been finding it difficult to disbelieve so many informants. But Kṛṣṇa who understood Bāṇa's worth correctly had interceded on Bāṇa's behalf with Emperor, and the latter was open to conviction about Bāṇa's goodness. So Bāṇa should hasten to come to see Emperor Harṣa. Bāṇa should not worry about difficulties of royal service or feel diffident to see His Majesty. For Harṣa is indeed a very great monarch, who has a real appreciation of merit and a broad mind. Bāṇa arranged for the rest of the messenger and that night reflected as to what he should do. He felt that with no court experience or hereditary court-links or influences at royal court, and with no outstanding achievements intellectual or otherwise (Bāṇa's modesty, by the way), it would be rash perhaps to go to the King. But here was the suggestion of a very affectionate yet selfless well-wisher like Kṛṣṇa to go. Better he goes then.

And accordingly he left श्रीनिवृत्त on his journey, after performing several auspicious rites. In the evening on the first day he reached a village named मल्लकुट and there enjoyed the hospitality of a cousin (?) and friend जगत्पति. Crossed next day river Ganga and rested next night in a forest hamlet named मण्डिगूह. And next day he reached Harṣa's camp near Mapitara (व. 1 Mapipura) on the Ajitavati.

In the afternoon accompanied by मेखलक, he went to see emperor Harṣa. On the way to Harṣa's chamber, he saw the horses of the king and also the royal elephant दण्डवत्. Then he was duly introduced to the august presence of Emperor Harṣa. First Bāṇa was received coldly, and emperor Harṣa referred to him as "महान्त मूढम्". Bāṇa made a very courteous but also very dignified and spirited self defence. He said that he was

born in the illustrious family of the वात्स्यायनः; and he had got good education befitting his heritage. He was married and a responsible householder. Granted in young days he was a bit indiscreet in his activities, but that was just due to juvenile immaturity and indiscretion. But Emperor Harṣa should not judge him by those juvenile lapses, but by his intrinsic worth. Harṣa looked at him with approbation and interest, but did not favour him immediately. But soon Harṣa was convinced of Bāṇa's real worth and then extended to him every favour and consideration Bāṇa could long for. ( cp. स्वर्पदेव बाहोभिः परमप्रीतिनः प्रसादजन्मनो मानस्य श्रेष्ठो द्विसम्भस्य द्रविणस्य नर्मणः प्रभावस्य च परा ऋषिर्नवीपतः परेन्द्रेणेति । )

( Uc III ) Once at the advent of autumn ( शरद् ) Bāṇa came back to ब्राह्मणाधिकार to meet his kith and kin. He was received very warmly and enthusiastically. He inquired whether his relatives were quite happy during his absence and whether all their activities were going on as usual—their sacrificial performances, Vedic studies, Vyākaraṇa and Mīmamsā discussions and poetic pursuits. They told him that they were quite happy in their Brahmanic pursuits. Bāṇa had long conversation with them on various matters. He was treated to a recital of the वायुपुराण by reader सुदृष्टि in the afternoon.

Then Bāṇa's four cousins गणपति, अधिपति, तारापति and श्यामल, who were eager to hear about the life of Bāṇa's patron, Emperor Harṣa, requested Bāṇa through the youngest of themselves, Śyāmala, Bāṇa's greatest favourite, to narrate about the life of Harṣa. Bāṇa pleaded his inability to do full justice to such an eminent subject, but promised to narrate a portion of Harṣa's life, to the best of his ability; and that he would commence the account next day as it was already evening then. ( Here ends the autobiographical portion in the हर्षचरित )

Next morning Bāṇa began to narrate the life of Harṣa. There was a prosperous country by name क्षीरस. It was noted for religion and prosperity. In that country there was a province named श्यामपतिवर. It was also marked by plenty and prosperity.

The ladies of *स्थावीश्वर* were very beautiful and sophisticated. There was a king *गुप्पभूति* who ruled there. He was a great devotee of *Siva* and his subjects also imitated him. He once heard of an eminent *महाशैव* named *भैरवाचार्य* and came to have a great devotion for him, even on hearing of him.

Once evening the doorkeeper announced the arrival of an ascetic ( *परिव्राज मस्करी* ) who came from *Bhairavacarya*. The ascetic was immediately admitted to the royal presence with great respect. The ascetic presented the king with five silver lotuses sent by *Bhairavacarya*, which the king reverentially accepted and promised to call of *Bhairavacarya* the next day. He accordingly went next day to see him. The king was affectionately greeted by the sage and he too very reverentially saluted the sage and sat on a cloth-seat nearby. They had a talk for a while the king returned to his palace. Next *Bhairavacarya* paid a return-visit to the king. He refused politely the wealth offered by *गुप्पभूति*.

The ascetic emissary used to give five silver lotuses as presents to *गुप्पभूति*, whenever he called on the latter. One day he brought a bright sword named *अट्टहाम* as a gift from *भैरवाचार्य* to *गुप्पभूति*. A sword which *पातालस्वामिन*, a Brahmin disciple of *भैरवाचार्य* had snatched from the hands of a *ब्रह्मराक्षस*. The king accepted the sword as a great favour.

One day *Bhairavacarya* called the king and requested him to help him in *वेतालसाधना* on the next *वृश्चिकतुर्दशी* night in a deserted temple near a *क्षेत्रागार*, along with three other disciples of his viz. the ascetic emissary *टीटिम*, the Brahmin *पातालस्वामिन* and a *द्विज* named *वर्णताल*. The king very gladly accepted the assignment, and on the appointed night, secretly left his palace, *अट्टहाम* in hand, and reached the rendezvous. The rites for attainment of *विद्याधरत्व* by *भैरवाचार्य* were started. Suddenly there arose a ferocious figure from the ground,—a *नाग* named *भीषण* who knocked out the other three assistants. But king *गुप्पभूति* challenged him, and in a single combat threw him to the ground. But when about to behead him by drawing his *अट्टहाम*, he saw the *नाग*'s *यमोदकीर्त* and spared him.



Just then in the अट्टहास in his hand he saw a vision of लक्ष्मी, who announced that she was pleased with his valour and asked him to choose any boon. The devout king asked for नैराचार्य's विदि, which was granted. And लक्ष्मी further announced that in view of this self-less magnanimity of the king, there would arise from him a new great राजवंश, compeer of the सूर्यवंश and चन्द्रवंश, in which would be born a great Emperor Harṣa, on whom she would personally wait. With these words Lakṣmī disappeared. Bhairavācārya obtained विद्याघरत्व. He profusely thanked the king and offered to do something by way of his gratitude to the king, who, however, said that the achievement by Bhairavācārya of his objective was reward enough for the king himself. Bhairavācārya then went to his appropriate higher region. The नाग द्वावृष्ट placing himself at पुण्यमूर्ति's behest went back with his consent to the nether world. पुण्यमूर्ति came next morning with three associates, to his capital. He treated the three colleagues very hospitably. Of these three, the परित्याट् टीटिम left for forest later on, in spite of the king's requests otherwise; while पातालस्वामिन् and रत्नताल look service with the king and lived with him ever after for life.

(Uc. IV) From पुण्यमूर्ति arose a famous वंश, adorned by eminent monarchs. In due course was born in that family an illustrious king प्रभाकरवर्धन, who was a राजाधिराज. He had an equally illustrious wife यशोमती. प्रभाकरवर्धन was a great devotee of the sun. He everyday worshipped the sun and thrice a day recited an आदिद्यमन्त्र for the sake of progeny.

One day in the early hours of morning यशोमती rose from her sleep crying for help. The king immediately got up and asked what the trouble was. यशोमती told that she saw in a dream two young lustrous boys, emerging from sun's orb, accompanied by a young girl, and attempting to enter the belly of herself, cutting it open; and she got up shouting.

Just then several good omens presented themselves. The king reassured the Queen that the dream was very auspicious and suggestive that three children would be born to her in due course. The Queen was very happy to learn this

Then was born in due course, first Prince *Rajyavardhana*. Then next was born the second son *हर्षवर्धन* *Harṣavardhana* was born on वद्य द्वादशी of the month of ज्येष्ठ on कृतिका नक्षत्र. The time of birth was early night. The ग्रह were all in उच्चस्थान. Astrologically he was destined to be a great Cakravartin. There were several good omens. A great पुत्रज-मोक्षमव was celebrated.

Then when *Harṣa* began to take his first steps with the aid of nurse, and when *राज्यवर्धन* was in his sixth year, *यशोमती* conceived again and the daughter *राज्यश्री* was born. About that very time *यशोमती*'s brother sent his son, about eight years old, as a companion for the two princes. His name was *Bhaṣṭin*, and he was a very eminently gifted boy.

Prince *Rajyavardhana* and *Harṣa* grew into very valorous and intelligent princes. Their father gave them as their companions two Malava princes *कुमारगुप्त* and *माघवगुप्त*, who were very able and trust-worthy and who were to be treated as confidante friends. *Kumārāgupta* then was eighteen years old and was of medium build. His younger brother *माघवगुप्त* was fairly tall and fair in complexion. They became the trusted companions of *राज्यवर्धन* and *हर्ष*.

*Rajyasri* also grew into a very accomplished princess. Her hand was sought by many princes. She was betrothed to *Grala-varma*, the son of *Avantivarman* of the *Maukhari* family. The marriage of *Rajyasri* was soon celebrated with due pomp. After staying for a while at *प्रभाकरवर्धन*'s place, *ग्रहवर्मा* returned to his place with *राज्यश्री*.

(Uc. V) Once king *प्रभाकरवर्धन* sent his young son *राज्यवर्धन* who had become *नववह* to conquer the Hunas in the north. *हर्ष* accompanied *राज्यवर्धन* on his march for some days, and when *राज्यवर्धन* went ahead towards far north *हर्ष* remained behind to enjoy *भ्रमण* in forests for a while, before returning home. One morning there he had a dream in which he saw a lion perishing in a forest conflagration and his lioness jumping in that fire, abandoning the cubs. On awakening *Harṣa* was made uneasy by this

dream. He had ill omens too. In the afternoon he saw कुरङ्ग a messenger from his father arriving with a report of his father's being down with heavy fever. Harsha proceeded homewards immediately even without taking food, having given in charity all his possessions. He had many ill omens on the way. He reached the capital after incessant march and entered the palace which was a picture of sullen despondency, with desperate efforts being made to save the king's life by every means possible. Harsha saw his father, seriously ill. He was embraced by his father very affectionately even in that condition and was pressed to take food after having fasted for three days in transit. Harsha could practically see the writing on the wall. He asked the frank opinion of the young physician रत्नचन्द्र, who promised to tell it next day and next day Harsha heard that रत्नचन्द्र had courted death by अभिषेक rather than convey the unfortunate news of प्रतापरदन's impending end to Harsha. रत्नचन्द्र decided to practise 'Sati' (self immolation) before प्रतापरदन's death. Harsha tried to persuade his mother to desist from that resolve. But she did not relent. She committed herself to fate and at sunset Prabhakaravardhana also breathed his last. Harsha remained anxiously awaiting the return of Rajyavardhana.

(Uc VI) Soon Rajyavardhana returned immersed in grief, there was a touching meeting of the two brothers. Next day रत्नचन्द्र announced his intention to abdicate in favour of हर्ष, because रत्नचन्द्र had a mind to retire to forest and was not feeling equal to undertake the taxing labour of rulership. Harsha could not believe of such a thing and he too decided to follow रत्नचन्द्र to forest.

Just then came रत्नचन्द्र, a servant of रत्नचन्द्र, with the sad report of रत्नचन्द्र's murder by the king of Malava and the imprisonment of रत्नचन्द्र in a jail at Kanyakubja. He also reported that the Malava king was likely to attack the kingdom of रत्नचन्द्र as well.

Rajyavardhana immediately started an expedition against the Malava king, leaving Harsha to look after the kingdom. He viewed the annihilation of the Malavas as his first duty, and therefore

out accompanied by Bhagdin and an army of horsemen Harṣa pleaded for permission to accompany him but राज्यवधन told him that this time he only shall go Harṣa would have enough scope in later life to display his valour They need not carry too many guns against a trifling enemy like the Malava king

But Harṣa soon heard of the heartrending news of the murder of राज्यवधन by the king of Gaudas after enticing him in confidence to his house after राज्यवधन had defeated the Malavas This news enraged Harṣa very much His general सिंहनाद also recommended strong action by ह्य to uproot the Gauda king and all other enemies Harṣa vowed to extirpate the Gauda king and also to establish universal sovereignty by conquering all kings of India His गजाध्याय gave him a sound advice of moving warily in the world and not believing too much in any one The enemies had several ill omens

(Uc VII) Then after some days Harṣa embarked on his expedition f . . . . . e camps

the doorkee . . . . . king of

प्राग्ज्योतिष . . . . . आनोग

to श्रीहृद It was a wonderful parasol for 'इदं न सप्तविधहृति, न

पुण्डरीको हृति नोदकमात्रयनि न रजसि वलिनयति, न जरा जलत्यति।"

(p 374) He also conveyed the message of king कुमार / alias

भास्करवर्मा) who wanted lifelong friendship with emperor

Harṣa Harṣa accepted the request and sent हस्वेन with appro-

priate presents to the king of प्राग्ज्योतिष

The marches went on One day ह्य found मण्डिन returning

bringing the conquered armies of Malava conquered by राज्यवधन

After a touching meeting ह्य learnt from Bhagdin that after राज्य

वधन died and कुञ्जवध ( i e कान्यकुब्ज) was in the hands of one पुष्ट

राज्यप्री had escaped from imprisonment and entered the Vindhya

forest But efforts to trace her were yet unsuccessful Harṣa decided

to take up the task of searching राज्यप्री personally asking Bhagdin

to proceed ahead with the army He next day saw the booty

obtained by राज्यवधन in the fight with the Malavas and then

started towards विन्ध्याटवी in quest of राज्यप्री and soon reached a

forest hamlet in it

would reveal to us Bāṇa's deep understanding of human nature and his ability to give vivid portraits of different persons with their individual traits and peculiarities

**Bāṇa .** We begin with a charactersketch of Bāṇa by Bāṇa. For Bāṇa is the hero of the earlier autobiographical portion of the *Harṣacarita*. Bāṇa shows himself to be an impartial observer and judge of his own assets and defects. Bāṇa, as we have already mentioned earlier, was born in a family of rich monetary and educational traditions. But he lost his mother very early and was brought up with great affection by his father, who acted also the mother to him. Naturally Bāṇa became very fond of his father and this trait we find particularly presented in the *Kadambari* in the *patra*'s story of its early life. Bāṇa unfortunately lost his father too when he was about fourteen years old and then Bāṇa for some years led a wandering life, a thing not approved by his elders but which was obviously a result of boyish curiosity to see the world. And one should have no regret that Bāṇa chose this wandering life for a while. Because it was in these years of travel, when people were mocking him that Bāṇa harvested a rich and varied experience of life. He got acquainted in those travels with courts and courtiers, gurukulas and scholars, men of varied professions and walks of life and assemblies of the learned and the elite. The spark of inborn genius got a special brilliance by this direct touch with life, and by the time he returned to re-embark on his academic career and to commence his literary career, he was possessed of a rich background of experience of life which rarely could have been equalled by others. Bāṇa was very fond of his native place and his kith and kin, and he began his life as a young householder at *Prithvīkūṭ*, the family seat of *Varāṇasī*. And then came the call of the court. Bāṇa hesitated for some time. Being a man of great modesty, he wondered whether he had abilities enough to succeed at the court. But he left for the court at least to justify Kṛṣṇa's good intentions towards himself. When he found in the first interview with Harṣa the emperor mildly rebuking him with the words 'महान् अयं भुञ्जते', he gave a very spirited defence of himself. This shows how he was very self respecting. At the same time Bāṇa

varied role as a पत्नी, माता and राज्ञी with great charm and dignity. But she is the Indian wife par excellence, to whom her husband is all in all, and she courts death when she finds that प्रभाकरवर्धन's end is near. The system of सती is a system questioned for good reasons, and questioned by Bana himself in his वादम्बरी, but none can question यशोमती's great love for प्रभाकरवर्धन which made her take that extreme step.

**Rajyavardhana** Rajayavardhana like this earth's sweetest flowers, died young. But even in that brief but glorious career राज्यवर्धन has left immortal fame as an obedient son, affectionate brother and great hero. Temperamentally he was a man of peace. He had a great admiration and devotion for Buddha. He was a परमसौमित्र. He wanted to abdicate the throne in favour of his younger brother but cruel fate made him abdicate the world. But he died at the post of duty. Revenge for सहवर्धन's murder was a prior duty before he could renounce the world. He took the revenge before being himself murdered by a treacherous adversary.

**Harṣavardhana** Harṣavardhana is the hero of the Harṣa-casta. He is one of the greatest monarchs of ancient India. A great hero, a great patron of learning, a great writer himself and a person of great religious tolerance, he can be rightly called a great राजर्षि in the true Indian style. His birth was heralded by a prophesy of Lakṣmi. His mother had before his birth शोधस which typified the child to be born. She would like to bathe in the waters of the four oceans, to see her reflection in a shining sword to take up bow, leaving aside the lute and to see lions in captivity. All these were prognostications of the Universal Sovereign to be born. When he was born, astrologers predicted his great career and fortune. Even as a young prince Harṣa showed his great promise as a hero and administrator.

Harṣa was greatly attached to his parents, brother and sister. It was his great misfortune to lose his parents, his sister's husband and his (own) brother, very quickly, one after other. But adversity brought out the best in him and he heroically vowed to extirpate all enemies and become the Sovereign of India and he achieved both these objectives. When he started on his expedition

**Commentaries on the Harṣacarita** —Kāṣṭhamācariar enumerates five commentaries on Harṣacarita. The authors of these are सद्दकर, रघुनाथ, रचक (or रच्यक), राजानक and सद्दकरराज. Out of these the first two are available in print. (1) सद्दकेत by सद्दकर is the one commentary which is widely known. It is very valuable for the understanding of many obscure words or puns. But it is often very meagre. We do not know much about the life or date of this सद्दकर. He probably hailed from Kashmir because his commentary is only found in Kashmir. His father's name is पुन्यकर. He invokes [Ganes?] at the beginning of his commentary. He has obviously consulted earlier exegesis on the book and he frequently refers to earlier commentators by the words like केचित्, अथ, अपरे etc. He acknowledges the debt to these earlier commentators in a verse at the end of his work. "तुर्बोधे हर्षचरिते सम्प्रदायानुरोवत् । गूढोर्थो-मुद्रणा चक्रे सद्दकरो विदुषा कृते ॥" He has mentioned उदमतः, वाय्यालङ्कार, ध्वयालोक and राजशेखर. This would indicate that he came after 9th cent A. D. A ms of सद्दकेत is dated सवत् (ostensibly विजयसवत्) 1520 i. e. 1464 A. D. Further सद्दकर, probably a Kashmirian himself does not refer to eminent Kashmirian आलङ्कारिकs like मम्मट or रच्यक but quotes ancient Kashmirian आलङ्कारिकs like मामह and उदमः. So probably he seems to have flourished before 12th cent A. D. Mm Kane notes how सद्दकर has referred to some 'vernacular' words, which may furnish some clue to his provenance (e. g. On the word गृञ्जा he remarks 'सता' इति यस्य प्रसिद्धिः, on प्रोदिव he says घोषा शानार्थं प्रसेवद यो 'दुक्कण' इति प्रसिद्ध, on लम्बापट्टा he says 'तमिला इति प्रसिद्धा').

(2) Harṣacarita published by Kerala University in 1958 contains a commentary on हर्षचरित by रघुनाथ. The commentary is named समीख्योपिनी. This is much more exhaustive than सद्दकेत by सद्दकर, and is very helpful for the understanding of the text. From the prefatory verses we know that रघुनाथ was the son of श्रीकृष्णार्ज्य and belonged to the योद्धीकुल, and that he was the disciple of नारायणाय. He gives Malayalam equivalents to several difficult words a fact which seems to suggest that the author might have been a native of Kerala or at any rate one who was

proficient in Malayalam. It is also noteworthy that the commentator has adopted the Kerala reading, in preference to other readings " (Kerala Uni. Edn.)

(iii) It appears that ह्यक, the famous author of अलङ्कारसर्वस्व had written a commentary called हर्षचरितवातिक on the हर्षचरित cp. एना (उत्प्रेक्षा) च समन्तोत्तमाप्रतिपादकविषयेऽपि हर्षचरितवातिके साहित्य-मीमांसाया च तेषु तेषु प्रदेशेषु दाहृता ।"—अलङ्कारसर्वस्व p 61. The author of the commentary on the व्यक्तिविवेक of महिमनू, who is generally regarded to be the same as Ruyyaka also refers to his own commentary on the हर्षचरित called हर्षचरितवातिक cp = एत-दस्मानिर्हर्षचरितवातिके विलुप्त्य प्रतिपादितम्, तत् एवावच्छेदम् ।—p. 44 of the comm on the व्यक्तिविवेक (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series). It is a pity that this ancient commentary by such an eminent critic has not yet seen the light of the day. If and when found, it is bound to help in settling the meaning of many a doubtful word or passage and in settling corruptions in the text of हर्षचरित. We do not know any details about the other two commentaries beyond their names.

Two casual points of note are: (1) According to the learned translators of Harṣacarita (Prof. Cowell and Mr. Thomas), Harṣacarita was generally forgotten by Indian writers, and that only rare copies of the work existed in the libraries. They mention only साहित्यदर्पण and रामप्रकाश referring to हर्षचरित. But Mm hane shows how दानन्दवर्धन, नमिमाय and ह्यक also have referred to हर्षचरित. He also tells that Harṣacarita was carefully preserved and studied in Kashmir at least. (For Kalhaya's indebtedness to the Harṣacarita cp Dr. Stein's Kalhaya vol. I p. 133 ).

(2) In नील's अष्टाशतशत (chap 20) there is a quotation: एषा हर्षचरिते नव,

‘तस्य च मुक्ता वृषाणि हर्षजं सर्वप्रपञ्चोत्तरा ।

ता नवत प्रयच्छन्ति हर्षे प्रहिते महम्मनि ॥

This shows the existence of another हर्षचरित. This seems to have no connection with our हर्षचरित



## CHAPTER VI

### THE KĀDAMBARĪ

[“कादम्बरीरसमरेण गमयन् एव  
मत्तो न विजिञ्चदपि चेतयते जनोऽयम् ॥”

—भूषणवाण ॥ कादम्बरी उत्तरभाग

Bāṇa's Kādambarī is a poetic work in Sanskrit prose Romance, and is famous for its supreme literary merit. It became later on a word signifying the type 'Novel' in some vernaculars. The name is true to its captivating grace, for कादम्बरी is name of 'wine'. And Kādambarī maddens the heart and gladdens the soul, like the proverbial liquor. And Bhūṣaṇa assures us that readers intoxicated by the wine of Bāṇa's poetry would hardly notice the inferiority of his supplement to his father's magnum opus cp (कादम्बरीरसमरेण गमयन् एव मत्तो न विजिञ्चदपि चेतयते जनोऽयम् । भीतोऽस्मि यत्र रसार्णविजिञ्चिणेन तच्छेषमात्मदवसाप्यनुमदयान ॥—कादम्बरी उत्तरभाग Intro v 7). Another proverb also tells us how the relish of कादम्बरी makes one forget food as la wine. (कादम्बरीरस-ज्ञानमाहारोऽपि न रोचते । कादम्बरीरसज्ञानमाहारोऽपि न रोचते ॥), Govardhanācārya feels that Sarasvatī personally has taken the form of Bāṇa (वाणी वाणी वन्द्य) "Bāṇa's words breathe a freshness of vigour that betrays a warm and sincere admiration of the profusion of nature which the Indian scenery offers to the poetic mind. And in this respect he has very few equals even amongst oriental poets" (Kṛṣṇamācariar). The Kādambarī is hailed by all as the greatest work in the field of Sanskrit कदाचन Aptt has Acārya Pathak said that if Harṣacarita is a historical narrative of this world, the Kādambarī is a poetic presentation bringing heaven to the earth.

"Bāṇa's far-famed Kādambarī is rightly reckoned as his masterpiece. In it his imagination takes rapid and sublime flight—thought succeeds thought and one simile is followed by another till the chain is so extended that one loses sight of the master idea which is smothered in his luxuriant imagery. His memory survey the whole field of Indian history and mythology and his extensiv

acquaintance with Sanskrit vocabulary brings in words and expressions not familiar to even advanced students of the language. It is especially popular among the Pandits on account of this feature as well as its unique character. But it is inaccessible to ordinary students owing to its most difficult and long compounds, as well as obscure and double meaning words, and allusions to strange mythological events" (Kale).

**A Summary of the Kadambari.**—Bana begins Kadambari with a salutation to the Unborn Supreme Being which is the cause of the उत्पत्ति, स्थिति and लय of the Universe. Next he salutes the dust from the feet of Lord Ś'iva. Then homage is paid to Viṣṇu (वसुदेव). Then Bana salutes his Guru Bharvū who was honoured by the योनिर्द्वि and their vassals. There is then a censure of the wicked, a praise of the good and a praise of भुजापति i. e. good literature. Then Bana tells us how a कथा which is सुन्दरालाप-विगलकोमला delights like an अभिनवा वयु. In v 9 are indicated the qualities of a good कथा (i) नवपदार्थः (ii) निरुद्ध इत्येव (iii) भुजापति (The earlier verse has emphasized 'sweet diction' and 'rasas') In v 10 is mentioned Kubera, an illustrious scion of the वात्स्यायनवम्, who was honoured by many a Guptas (अनेकगुप्ताभित-पादपदकम्). His was a house replete with Vedic traditions of learning and ritual. His son was अयंपति who was also a great teacher and a great sacrificer. One of जयंपति's sons was चित्रमानु. चित्रमानु was a person of noble virtues and was a great sacrificer. His son was वासुदेव. He has composed this 'उत्तिष्ठती कथा' viz. Kadambari. Now begins the narrative.

There was a great Indra-like King, Śūdraka by name. He was a very powerful ruler and ruled his subjects with great efficiency and affection. His capital was the city of विदिशा on the river वसवती. He was aided by many competent ministers in his governance. And he was accompanied by several talented princes of like age and aptitudes. He was temperamentally averse to lovesports, and even with a bevy of beautiful queens, passed his time away from lovesports, on various intellectual or artistic pursuits.

One day, in early morning a doorkeeper reported to the king of the arrival of a certain चण्डालिका with a parrot in a cage in her

hand, and her seeking an inter-view with the king. The king directed that she be ushered in. The Cāṇḍāla girl, after entering the royal assembly, struck the ground with her bamboo staff, thereby attracting the attention of the members of the assembly towards herself. The king looked at her intently with amazement as she entered led by an aged मातङ्ग and followed by a चाण्डाल boy carrying a parrot in a cage. The king wondered why the creator created such a flawless form in the Cāṇḍāla community. The girl made obeisance to the king, and then the old मातङ्ग presented the parrot to the king on behalf of the young Cāṇḍāla princess. He told that parrot was an extraordinarily gifted bird and deserved to be possessed by Emperor Śūdraka.

The parrot uttered a verse in praise of the king, who was greatly impressed thereby. At noon the king left the assembly-hall directing the Cāṇḍālakanya to rest and the parrot to be taken inside. He had his bath, performed Śiva worship, after duly paying homage to the manes and the sun. Then he had his food. Then in the afternoon, while resting in his आस्थानमण्डप he got वैशम्पायन the parrot fetched there. And there the king requested the parrot to tell its whole narrative as to where it was born, who were its parents, how it has obtained the Vedic and Śāstric lore, whether it was some being who had become a bird, how it happened to fall in the hands of Cāṇḍālas and the like. The parrot said: 'Your majesty, it is quite a long tale, may your majesty be pleased to hear it if you so desire.

**The Parrot's Narrative:—**There is a great forest on the Vindhya mountain. Therein there was a hermitage which was once inhabited by अमस्त्य, लोपामुद्रा and their son दृढदस्यु. That hermitage was hallowed by many a memory connected with the stay there of राम, सीता and लक्ष्मण in their वनवास. Near about that place was the beautiful lake पम्पा. On the western bank of पम्पा there was a mighty वाल्मीकी tree. On that tree there dwelt hundreds of birds. There I was born as a lone child of my parents, in a hollow of that tree. My mother died of the pains of child-labour, and my aged father brought me up with all care and affection.

One day early in the morning there arose a great uproar of a hunting expedition. I sheltered in the wings of my father, through terror. Soon came a big group of hunters raising loud shouts. There were shrieks and screams of wild animals and barking of dogs. And then a sort of calm descended on the area. I tried to have a peeping look at things outside from the hollow.

I saw then a big Sabara army marching towards our place, and in the midst of that I saw the commander of the Sabaras, whose name I learnt to be माहृदग later on. He came and rested under the Salmali tree for a while and marched ahead with his army. But an old Sabara tarried behind, cast his covetous, greedy eyes at the tree and climbed it to catch the young ones of parrots in the hollows. He went on killing them one after another, dropping them on the ground, and gradually he reached our hollow, pulled out my father, killed him and threw his body down, not noticing—luckily for me—me, who was concealed under my father's wings. I luckily fell on a heap of dry leaves, and before the Sabara came down. I somehow crawled some distance away to the foot of a big Tamala tree. When the Sabara climbed down and collecting his kill went in the same direction as his commander, I, now impelled by extreme thirst, tried to move towards some water reservoir. While inching my way with great difficulty I reflected over the urge to survive, which is uppermost than anything in beings. How I was keen on survival, rather than follow my father in death—my father who had done so much and so affectionately for me right from the day of my birth, when my mother died, inspite of the advanced age of his. I found the sun very hot, the water front was fairly away still. I felt dazed and almost longed for death. Just then हरित a hermit boy, son of the great sage जगदि, whose आश्रम was nearby, came to that lotus-lake for his bath. He took compassion on me, on noticing me, took me to the water-front, put a few drops of water in my beak, whereby I felt refreshed, and when he returned home after his bath he took me home. I saw the holy आश्रम, that resembled Brahmaloaka.

There I saw the sage जगदि. I was struck by the spiritual eminence of the sage and by the atmosphere of the hermitage,

hand, and her seeking an inter-view with the king. The king directed that she be ushered in. The Caplala girl, after entering the royal assembly, struck the ground with her bamboo staff, thereby attracting the attention of the members of the assembly towards herself. The king looked at her intently with amazement as she entered led by an aged मन्त्रज्ञ and followed by a पादाङ्गुली boy carrying a parrot in a cage. The king wondered why the creator created such a flawless form in the Caplala community. The girl made obeisance to the king and then the old मन्त्रज्ञ presented the parrot to the king on behalf of the young Caplala princess. He told that parrot was an extraordinarily gifted bird and deserved to be possessed by Emperor Sudrika.

The parrot uttered a verse in praise of the king who was greatly impressed thereby. At noon the king left the assembly-hall directing the Caplakanya to rest and the parrot to be taken inside. He had his bath, performed Siva worship, after duly paying homage to the manes and the sun. Then he had his food. Then in the afternoon while resting in his आश्रममण्डप he got वैतन्नायन the parrot fetched there. And there the king requested the parrot to tell its whole narrative as to where it was born, who were its parents, how it has obtained the Vedic and Śāstric lore, whether it was some being who had become a bird, how it happened to fall in the hands of Caplalas and the like. The parrot said 'Your majesty it is quite a long tale, may your majesty be pleased to hear it if you so desire.

**The Parrot's Narrative** —There is a great forest on the Vindhya mountain. Therein there was a hermitage which was once inhabited by अग्रह्य, सोमवृद्ध and their son दृढस्तु. That hermitage was hallowed by many a memory connected with the stay there of राम, सीता and लक्ष्मण in their वनवास. Near about that place was the beautiful lake वसन्त. On the western bank of वसन्त there was a mighty शालमूली tree. On that tree there dwelt hundreds of birds. There I was born as a lone child of my parents, in a hollow of that tree. My mother died of the pains of child labour, and my aged father brought me up with all care and affection.

One day early in the morning there arose a great uproar of a hunting expedition. I sheltered in the wings of my father, through terror. Soon came a big group of hunters raising loud shouts. There were shrieks and screams of wild animals and barking of dogs. And then a sort of calm descended on the area. I tried to have a peeping look at things outside from the hollow.

I saw then a big Sabara army marching towards our place, and in the midst of that I saw the commander of the Sabaras, whose name I learnt to be *मानसूय* later on. He came and rested under the Salmali tree for a while and marched ahead with his army. But an old Sabara tarried behind, cast his covetous, greedy eyes at the tree and climbed it to catch the young ones of parrots in the hollows. He went on killing them one after another, dropping them on the ground, and gradually he reached our hollow, pulled out my father, killed him and threw his body down, not noticing—luckily for me—me, who was concealed under my father's wings. I luckily fell on a heap of dry leaves and before the Sabara came down. I somehow crawled some distance away to the foot of a big Tamala tree. When the Sabara climbed down and collecting his kill went in the same direction as his commander, I, now impelled by extreme thirst, tried to move towards some water reservoir. While inching my way with great difficulty I reflected over the urge to survive, which is uppermost than anything in beings. How I was keen on survival, rather than follow my father in death—my father who had done so much and so affectionately for me right from the day of my birth, when my mother died, inspite of the advanced age of his. I found the sun very hot, the water front was fairly away still. I felt dazed and almost longed for death. Just then *हरीश* a hermit boy, son of the great sage *जामलि*, whose *वायम* was nearby, came to that lotus-lake for his bath. He took compassion on me on noticing me took me to the water front, put a few drops of water in my beak, whereby I felt refreshed, and when he returned home after his bath he took me home. I saw the holy *वायम*, that resembled Brahmaloka.

There I saw the sage *जामलि*. I was struck by the spiritual eminence of the sage and by the atmosphere of the hermitage,

where all animosities seemed to have subsided हारीत placed me under an *Agoka* tree and saluted his father, and sat on a Darbha seat nearby. The sages in the hermitage asked him about the information relating to me. Harita narrated how he found me under a tree, how he could not climb the tall tree to replace me in my hollow and how he brought me to the hermitage to be reared up till I grew up and became capable of flying in the sky. Then I may go or stay as I choose. Jabali's attention too was drawn towards me, he looked at me with compassion, remembered my earlier life and remarked "This bird is reaping the fruit of his folly (in previous birth)." The sages in the hermitage eagerly solicited जादालि to narrate the story of my previous life. The sage replied, "It is a long tale, and now evening is fast approaching. Let us complete our evening rites, and let this parrot also be refreshed. Then I would narrate you the story by which the parrot would also remember his earlier birth." Then night fell. When after evening rites and food the sages gathered together, हारीत requested his father to tell the narrative about me. And sage Jabali began his narrative as follows (Here ends the कथामुत्तर and Jabali's narrative begins).

**Jabali's Narrative** — There was in the country of Avantika a city named उज्जयिनी on the bank of *Sipra*, hallowed by the presence of the *Mahakala*. The city was ruled by an eminent king named साराणीय. He was the sovereign of the entire Indian subcontinent. His was a very prosperous kingdom. He had a very wise minister by name शुक्रनास. He left the task of administering the well established kingdom to the able minister शुक्रनास and enjoyed various pleasures of youth. But as he began to advance in age gradually and still was childless, he was very much worried and dejected by childlessness. The chief Queen of that king was *Vilasavati*, a very beautiful and noble woman.

One day, the king visiting her apartments found her in great dejection, weeping. He very solicitously inquired of the cause of her grief. But finding that she did not reply to his query, he inquired of the attendants. And then the Queen's betel bearer maid *Makarika* told the king that the grief of sonlessness was the

cause of her anguish. She has been grieving over it for quite some time but just that day which was a शुक्रतीथी, she had been to worship Mahakala and she heard from the Mahabharata reader there that a sonless person does not attain heaven. This had increased her grief all the more.

The king consoled the Queen with a very feeling and eloquent advice. He recommended to her to still increase her practice of divine worship, vows and holy rites for पुत्रप्राप्ति. The Queen did accordingly.

One day in the early hours of morning तारापीड saw in a dream the orb of the moon entering the mouth of विलम्बवती. He told about that dream to शुक्नास, who told the king that it was a very auspicious dream which indicated the birth of a son to the king and the queen very soon. Even शुक्नास had a propitious dream that very day when he saw a Brahmin place a lotus in the lap of शुक्नास's wife मनोरमा. This indicated the birth of a son to शुक्नास and मनोरमा. The king along with शुक्नास saw the Queen and told her about both these auspicious dreams.

In due course विजयवती conceived. The news was conveyed to the king by a maid कुलवचना. The king was highly delighted and so too was the Queen. A son was born in due course. The पुत्रज मोक्ष was observed with great eclat. Very soon after that time a son was born to शुक्नास and मनोरमा. The two boys grew up and when they were of the schooling age the king got a special विद्यामन्दिर prepared, staffed it with a highly qualified staff and put Candrapida (his son) with Var-ampayana (शुक्नास's son) in that विद्यामन्दिर. And Candrapida soon mastered all the lore of the day. He and Var-ampayana became intimate friends.

Then when चन्द्रपीड completed his education the king sent his general बलाहक to bring him from the विद्यामन्दिर. At that time an excellent horse इन्द्रायुध was presented to चन्द्रपीड by the king. चन्द्रपीड was wonderstruck to see the matchless horse.

Candrapida mounted Indrayudha and accompanied by a posse of princes on horseback sent by his father, started for the city. As he entered the city people thronged in streets and doors.



to see him. The prince duly reached the palace. He paid his respects to his father and mother. Then he paid respects to शुकनास. And then he came to the mansion earmarked for him. At night he again called on his parents, paid homage to them, returned to his palace and slept for the night.

Next morning he went on a hunting expedition. Next day he was given an attendant maiden named पद्मलेशा, a daughter of the king of Kulutas, she was to be treated with great consideration and confidence. Candrapida found her a very devoted attendant. In due course सारापीड planned for the यौवराज्याभिषेक of चन्द्रापीड. On the eve of this यौवराज्याभिषेक, शुकनास gave a very worthy advice to चन्द्रापीड. He advised चन्द्रापीड to be on the guard against the indiscretions of youth and passion and the wayward behaviour of wealth. Then on an auspicious day चन्द्रापीड was installed as a यवराज. Next चन्द्रापीड started on a दिक्विजययात्रा. He conquered the whole world in three years and after going round the whole world in that way, he happened to reach सुवर्णपुर, a residence of Kiratas, which was near Kailasa and eastern ocean (1) and there he decided to halt for a while to refresh his armies.

One day he espied there a किरतरिपुत्र and went in pursuit thereof. He quickly went for a distance of 15 योजन in that single pursuit and ultimately found the couple scaling the heights of a lofty peak, with himself stranded behind. Then he realised the vainness of his pursuit and knowing that northern limit of the world ended the north of सुवर्णपुर, and then there lay a forest uninhabited by man and then came Kailasa, which he had already reached, he turned back to seek his way to his camp by keeping to the south. But as it was noon, he thought of refreshing his horse and himself by some water and some fodder for his horse. So he started in quest of some lake. And soon he came across a very beautiful lake named अच्छोद. He refreshed himself and Indrayudha there and rested for some time. Then he heard the notes of music. Going in quest of their origin he saw a Siva temple. There he saw a young girl very white in complexion playing on the flute and singing in praise of the Lord. He got down from his horse, tied his horse to a branch of a tree and went

to the Śiva temple, saluted Śiva and intently gazed at that divine damsel. He was very much struck by her divine beauty and form, he became eager to inquire about her personal information and so waited there patiently till the singing came to an end. When the song ended, Mahāśveta noticed Candrapīḍa and requested him to accept her hospitality as a guest, which he did after profuse requests to be spared of these formalities. After partaking of the simple fare offered, Candrapīḍa very modestly requested the young girl to tell about herself. The girl remained silent for a moment and then began to shed tears. And then she proceeded to narrate her account as follows —

**Mahāśveta's Narrative.**—There are fourteen families of Aparasas and two families of ṛṣyās. One of the families of ṛṣyās was ruled by चित्ररथ son of दक्षप्रजापति's daughter मुनि and the other ṛṣyā family was ruled by हस, the son of दक्षप्रजापति's another daughter अरिष्ठा. This हस was married to गीरी who was born in that family of Aparasas which was born from सोम. I was born as the only daughter of that couple, and was very fondly brought up by my parents and duly attained youth. One day, with my mother I came for bath to the अश्लोद lake. Then while wandering here and there I smelt an extremely divine fragrance. And being attracted by it, I moved ahead and saw a very lustrous and beautiful मुनिकुमार accompanied by another young ascetic boy as his companion.

And beholding that matchlessly beautiful young ascetic I fell in love with him. And when I, trying to curb my emotion, saluted him, he too forthwith fell in love with me. I then inquired of the friend of that youth about the youth and about the fragrant blossom he carried. He replied. There is a great sage by name श्वेतकेतु. One day he had gone to गङ्गा for collecting lotuses for divine worship. There he was seen by Lakṣmī, who was affected by cupid at his sight, and by a mental consummation of union with him got a son. She handed over the son to श्वेतकेतु, who duly brought him up and named him पुण्डरीक. This is the same as that young ascetic. The blossom he is wearing on his ears is of पारिजात from the नन्दनवन, presented to him by a नन्दनवनदेवता and worn with

reluctance by him. The young ascetic offered to me that blossom and placed it on my ear. We both were thrilled by the consequent mutual touch. He inadvertently dropped down his rosary, which I caught in the air and put round my neck. Just then there came a maid-servant, and she reminded me that it was almost time for our return, and so I should complete my bath. I, with great difficulty, moved away from that place and then the friend of the ऋषिकुमार began to chide him for his mental agitation as follows: "O Pundarika, how is it that you have been so swept away by passion? It hardly becomes your penance and self-control. You have already lost the rosary. At least do not lose your heart." Pundarika tried to be stiff towards me and demanded back his rosary, only to receive a pearl necklace, which he took without noticing it. I then returned and remained utterly lost in love. Just then came my ताम्बूलकरजवाहिनी named तरलिका, who had tarried for a while and who brought now with her a love letter from Pundarika. I was enthralled to read it and talked about पुण्डरीक with तरलिका.

At about sunset there came the छत्रवाहिनी reporting that one of the ऋषिकुमार has come to the door, asking for the ब्रह्मनाल. When he was brought in, he reported the lovelorn and desperate condition of पुण्डरीक. Just then my mother came to see me, and Kapirajala, that ऋषिकुमार hastily returned. After my mother returned, I in early night discussed the matter with तरलिका, and I left, love lorn myself too, to meet my lord. There was ominous throbbing of my right eye. When I reached near the place, I heard the loud laments of Kapirajala over the death of पुण्डरीक. Then I lamented long and bitterly. At this stage of the narrative महादेवता broke down and fainted. Candrapida revived her. Then even though चन्द्रापीड requested her to discontinue the narrative she continued. When I was thinking of consuming myself to fire a divine being, coming from the orb of the moon, took away the corpse of पुण्डरीक, telling me not to commit suicide, as I would be reunited with पुण्डरीक again. Kapirajala flew in the sky after that divine being. Then I decided to stay there in penance, awaiting for the day of reunion, rejecting all efforts of my father to wean me away from this resolve to lead an ascetic life. Gand-

rāpida then very eloquently consoled Mahā'svetā and told her that she had done everything possible for a beloved to do for her lover, and she should never think of अनुमरण अनुमरण is not a resort of the heroic but of cowards, strange though this may seem! It is an admission of inability to stand up to the trials and tribulations of life अनुमरण does good neither to the dead nor to the dying There is no guarantee that अनुमरण can reunite the अनुमृत with the मृत On the other hand it brings the sin of suicide So we should follow the path of a courageous facing of hardships Great ladies like कुन्ती, उत्तरा, दुःशला and others have also not taken to अनुमरण And particularly महाश्वेता, having the assurance of reunion given by the divine being, hardly has any justification for अनुमरण. She should continue to hope for the great day Just then the sun set. Both महाश्वेता and चन्द्रापीड prepared to retire for night. Talking then, चन्द्रापीड inquired where तरलिका was then. She told Prince, there is the Gandharva king चित्ररथ, who has married मदिरा born of the family of Apsaras born of nectar. They have one daughter, named कादम्बरी She has been my childhood companion. On hearing my misfortune कादम्बरी decided not to marry till I was again happy The Gandharva king had therefore sent a Kaṇḍukin क्षीरोद to me to try my hand at persuading कादम्बरी to change her decision, and I have sent तरलिका with a message of appeal to कादम्बरी.

Next morning तरलिका returned with a Gandharva lad केयूरक, the lute-carrier of कादम्बरी, who conveyed कादम्बरी's return-message confirming her decision to remain unmarried till महाश्वेता was reunited with her lover Mahā'svetā sent back Keyuraka with the words I shall personally speak to कादम्बरी about this

After Keyuraka returned, महाश्वेता suggested that Candrapida can accompany her to चित्ररथ's realm, if he would not mind He agreed and duly came to the palace of कादम्बरी He was introduced by महाश्वेता to कादम्बरी in suitable terms and was received with great regard Needless to say that चन्द्रापीड and कादम्बरी fell in love at first sight

Then Mahādveta went to see the parents of Kādambari, who had called her, and चन्द्रपीड was lodged in a mansion on a श्रीडापवत. There चन्द्रपीड was sent a priceless necklace as a present by वादम्बरी. After staying there for a couple of days चन्द्रपीड returned, with his love for कादम्बरी and vice versa, being firmly established. He returned to the hermitage of महादेवा, where he met his followers who had come up there in his quest. Next day he saw वेदुरा, arriving with materials of betel and the forgotten necklace sent by Kādambari. Keyūra informed him about the lovelorn condition of Kādambari. Candrapīda made another trip to Hemakūta, this time accompanied by Patralekhā. And then he soon returned to his camp, keeping behind पत्रलेखा at Kādambari's request. At the camp he found a messenger, who had been sent by king Tarapīda. तारापीड had called back Candrapīda, who was away quite some time, immediately, and so too वैशम्पायन was called back by तुकनास. Both of them started back with their army. चन्द्रपीड kept behind मेघनाद, son of his commander to escort home पत्रलेखा when she returned from Hemakūta. He also sent a message of touching farewell to Kādambari and Mahādveta, hoping to meet them sometime in future. And asking वैशम्पायन to come with the army at a slower pace, चन्द्रपीड himself started home in great speed with a few picked horsemen. In the evening he reached a चण्डिकायतन, where a जरद-द्रविड घामिव was in charge. He halted there that night, next morning marched ahead and soon reached Ujjayini.

He was very gladly greeted by his parents. He paid respects to तुकनास and मनोरमा and went to his mansion. He remained awaiting the arrival of पत्रलेखा, who came after some days. He asked her in confidence of things connected with वादम्बरी and महादेवा. पत्रलेखा told in detail of वादम्बरी's love-sickness. She told how she told Kādambari that she would return to bring back her lord. Kādambari wondered how she could frame a suitable message to Candrapīda. (And here Bhaṭṭa's narrative comes to an abrupt end.)

(Bhaṭṭa's narrative continues.) Kādambari was very much overpowered by lovelornness. She conceded the request of पत्रलेखा of returning to bring back चन्द्रपीड. पत्रलेखा returned and told about

Kadambari's love sick condition to चन्द्रापीड चन्द्रापीड was very anxious and did not know what to do just then After some days Keyuraka arrived and conveyed Kadambari's still more desperately lovesick condition Candrapida was in a fix as to how he could return to हेमकुट without informing his parents, and how he should tell about his love, to them He badly wanted वैशम्पायन to be near him to advise Just then he heard that the army he left behind with वैशम्पायन in charge, was near and so decided to send कैयूरक and मन्त्रेखा in advance to Kadambari, promising that he would soon follow King तारापीड started thinking about the marriage of Candrapida चन्द्रापीड felt that the arrival of वैशम्पायन would make his marriage with कदम्बरी a near possibility when his father was now thinking of it चन्द्रापीड started to meet वैशम्पायन When he reached the army-camp he was shocked to hear of वैशम्पायन's absence And on inquiries he learnt as follows वैशम्पायन, before starting the return journey wanted to bathe in the holy Achoda lake and worship Lord Siva When he went there he was so lost to an indescribable mental agitation that he just refused to move away from that place in spite of the entreaties of his companions He advised them to return and said that he would return when he got into a proper mood For three days the companions waited, hoping that वैशम्पायन would come and ultimately leaving sufficient provender for him started the return journey When चन्द्रापीड heard this he was totally at a loss to understand why वैशम्पायन acted that way He thought he should straightway go in quest of वैशम्पायन But he decided to first report matters back to Ujjayini and then leave for the search of वैशम्पायन, and he may use the opportunity to meet Kadambari as well So he returned He called on शुकनास whose place was already being visited then by the king and the queen The king chided Candrapida for negligence Shukanasa interceded powerfully on Candrapida's behalf roundly blaming वैशम्पायन for his own folly तारापीड told शुकनास that he had been too harsh in criticising वैशम्पायन चन्द्रापीड volunteered to go to bring वैशम्पायन home and was duly permitted to do so He proceeded forthwith, dreaming of the recovery of वैशम्पायन meeting महाश्वेता, meeting marriage and lovesports with Kadambari marrying वैशम्पायन with मन्त्रेखा etc ! On the way there came the rainy season which caused a lot of

discomfort by heavy showers. On the way he saw मेघनाद returning and asked him about वैशम्पायन. But he reported that he had returned before reaching अच्छोद at the insistence of पत्रलेखा and केदरक, who advised मेघनाद to return, as चन्द्रापीड may not come in autumn that side so he could go back, because there was no point in his waiting for चन्द्रापीड's arrival very soon and he better return in good time to Ujjayini. They were confident of making their way ahead.

Candrapida then reached अच्छोद. He did not find any trace of वैशम्पायन and decided to inquire of महाश्वेता about him. He was surprised to see महाश्वेता weeping bitterly. On inquiring she replied when I returned from Gandharvaloka here, I saw a young person. He began to woo me and when he pressed his suit persistently I cursed him to be a parrot. And then I learnt that he was your friend. Hearing about this unhappy end of वैशम्पायन, चन्द्रापीड fell dead. Tarabka and Candrapida's retinue began to lament. And just then came on the scene वादम्बरी with पत्रलेखा for seeing चन्द्रापीड. She was over-whelmed by seeing चन्द्रापीड dead. She wanted to burn herself with चन्द्रापीड's corpse. But just then some resplendent lustre came out of चन्द्रापीड's body, and a voice in heaven told that चन्द्रापीड's body should be guarded and protected there till he is once more revived as he would be. पुण्डरीक's body is also well-guarded in चन्द्रलोक. All were surprised. But पत्रलेखा leading इन्द्रामुख with her, jumped in अच्छोद. Out of अच्छोद rose up वर्पिञ्जल who informed महाश्वेता thus. When I went after that divine person who had taken away पुण्डरीक's body, I reached चन्द्रलोक in that process. There the person told me that he was the Moon. He was cursed by Pundarika dying of lovesickness that the moon, who is bringing about his death by excruciating rays shall more than once be born in this mortal world, and falling in love would die before being united with his beloved. The moon, cursed for no fault of his, retaliated by a counter curse that पुण्डरीक would be sharing his joys and sorrows. Then realising how this पुण्डरीक was the lover of महाश्वेता his descendant, the moon directed me to go to स्वतन्त्र, who perhaps would find a way through this mess, while पुण्डरीक's body is well guarded in चन्द्रलोक. When I left towards my destination I absently-mindedly jolted

against a wrathful वैमानिक who cursed me to a horse. On intercession he ordained that I shall become the horse of Candrapida, son of Tarapida, who (Candrapida) would be the moon reborn. My friend पुण्डरीक was to be born as वैद्यम्पायन. I was to regain my form when I would bathe after my master's death. I remembered these things and intentionally brought Candrapida in the Kinnara's pursuit to that region. Vaidampayana was none else than पुण्डरीक and so through previous attachment tried to woo Mahasveta. At least two births of unrequited love shall have to be spent by the moon with Pundarika as his companion.

Mahasveta was overwhelmed by grief on hearing this account. Kapigjala consoled her by saying that she should carry on with her penance with a faith in divine dispensations, which are bound to be realised. Kadambari asked: What happened to पद्मेष्वा? Kapigjala said: I do not know but I shall forthwith go to स्वर्णकेतु and seek information of the next birth of चन्द्रापीड, पुण्डरीक and also about the subsequent information about पद्मेष्वा. Kadambari and Mahasveta waited with hope. Some messengers from चन्द्रापीड arrived and went back to report matters as they stood. Torn between grief and hope, तारापीड, बिलामवती, शुक्नाक्ष and मनोरमा accompanied by some retinue came where the body of चन्द्रापीड was lying; and remained waiting there. Here Jabali concluded by saying that the parrot before them was वैद्यम्पायन cursed by महादेवा to become a शुक. The शुक now remembered everything and inquired of जवालि as to what had happened to his friend चन्द्रापीड. The sage counselled it against impatience and asked it to wait till its wings became strong. Then it may inquire. Harita inquired why पुण्डरीक was overpowered by love and why he was short lived. Jabali answered that he was born of स्वर्णवीर्य only and so he was so. Jabali then ended his tale.

While हरीत attended (continues the parrot) on me, who was uneasy and desirous of going away in quest of my lost kith and kin, there came Kapigjala from Svetaketu's hermitage in search of me. He told me how स्वर्णकेतु by divine vision had come to know what had befallen पुण्डरीक, how he started counterremedies, how he himself, when freed from the birth of a horse, went to



इवेतवेतु, how इवेतवेतु told him that वैशम्पायन was born as a parrot but advised him not to visit वैशम्पायन just now how one day इवेतवेतु advised him to go to जाबालि's hermitage to meet वैशम्पायन viz myself in the present parrot's birth, who had now remembered my earlier birth. He conveyed to me a message from इवेतवेतु that I should stay at जाबालि's feet till the proper time comes for my release from the parrot's birth. I was also informed how my mother in my पुण्डरीक birth was interested in saving me. Kapiljāla and myself talked for a long time on these matters and then कपिञ्जल returned to इवेतवेतु's आश्रम.

After I grew strong one day I flew away to the north. On the way I was caught in a snare by a fowler who had done so on instructions of the daughter of a Malavga chief. I was taken to her. She kept me in a prison. I first refused to take any food but later, on an appeal by the Candala girl, relented. When I was grown up the Caplakanya put me in a cage and brought it to your majesty. Why she brought me here who she was etc, I do not know. (Here ends the parrot's tale.)

King Sudraka became eager to know about these matters and inquired of the Caplala girl apropos these. She told how Sudraka was Candrapida the parrot was पुण्डरीक and she herself was लक्ष्मी. Now that she had brought the two friends together, her task was done. They shall now regain their original divine forms. With these words Lakṣmī flew up in the sky.

Sudraka and Vaiṣampayana then abandoned their bodies and Candrapida and Puṇḍarika were duly revived. Both couples and all their relatives met in highest bliss and there was joy all around. Candrapida was duly entrusted with the kingship. He entrusted administration to पुण्डरीक and used to pass his time ever afterwards now in उज्जयिनी, now on हेमकट, now on the banks of अञ्जोद and now in चद्रलोक. And both couples thus attained highest bliss in mutual company.

*Sources of Bāṇa's Kadambari* —Bāṇa obviously seems to have derived his plot of Kadambari from the story of king Sumanas (सुमनास in बृहत्कथामञ्जरी) as told in the Bṛhatkathā of

Guṇādhya. The बृहत्कथा, a work written in Pāṣāṭī language is not available now, but two Sanskrit abridgements of the work are available viz. सोमदेव's कथासरित्सागर and क्षेमेन्द्र's बृहत्कथामञ्जरी. (M. Lacote has brought out a third redaction of the बृहत्कथा) The बृहत्कथा has served as a popular source of material and inspiration for many later writers, and Bāṇa (who has expressed his admiration for बृहत्कथा in हर्ष. Intro v 17) has based his कादम्बरी story on the story of king Sumanas occurring in बृहत्कथा and occurring in कथासरित्सागर, लम्बक X, तरङ्ग III vv. 22-179. (N. S. Edn), and बृहत्कथामञ्जरी XVI 138-251 (N. S. Edn). We give now a summary of this कथासरित्सागर narrative. A comparison of the story of the कादम्बरी with this original will show to what extent Bāṇa has based his work on the story of king सुमन्स, and how far he has modified, moulded or improved on the popular tale to serve his purpose, and to infuse life and vigour in the somewhat dry narrative in his original.

**A Summary of Kathāsaritsaṅga, Lambaka X, Taraṅga III, vv. 22-179.**—There was a city named काञ्चतपुरी. There ruled a great king named Sumanas. One day, when he was in his assembly-hall, a door-keeper informed him that a daughter of a Niṣāda chief, by name Mukulata, was at the door, with a parrot in a cage and her brother Viraprabha accompanying her, and that she wanted to see the king. She was permitted an interview with the king, and as she entered the assembly hall, all people were impressed by her charm. She presented that parrot named Śaś'traganja, well-versed in all lore and arts to the king. It uttered a verse in honour of the king and also offered to give evidence of its śāstric proficiency. The king was surprised, and his ministers suggested that the parrot may be some sage undergoing a curse. The king requested the parrot to tell its account and it narrated as follows —

(The Parrot's Tale) Near Himālayas on a रोहिणीत I was born to a parrot couple. I lost my mother just at my birth and my father brought me up. One day a Bhilla army came there on a hunting expedition. One old Śābara came to the tree of our residence in the evening, and pulling out many a bird from their nests, and killing them, through them down. I lurked in my

father's feathers. My father was also killed by that S'abara and thrown under the tree. I made my escape by concealing under grass and leaves. I passed that night in great sorrow and next morning, being thirsty, proceeded towards a lotus lake. There I was seen by a sage named मरीचि, who took pity on me, put some drops of water in my beak and placing me in a leaf-bowl took me to his hermitage. There the कुलशति पुलस्त्य laughed as he looked at me. He then told the others how I was a sage turned into a parrot by a curse, and then in the afternoon told them my account.

(Pulastya's Narrative) There was in the city मरुत्ताकर a king named ज्योतिष्प्रभ. He had a queen named हर्षवती. They got a son through S'iva's favour. The name of the son was सोमप्रभ. When the prince grew up, he was installed as युवराज, and he was given as his minister प्रियकर son of his minister प्रभाकर. Just then मातलि came from heaven and presented सोमप्रभ with a horse आशु-श्रवा (son of उच्चं श्रवस्), because सोमप्रभ was Indra's friend, a विद्याधर born as a human being, and so this victory bringing horse was presented by Indra to him.

Then prince सोमप्रभ started on an expedition of दिग्विजय. Conquering various kings he reached the Himalayan regions, where he indulged in मग्नता for a while. Having seen a किन्नर he tried to pursue it, but the किन्नर gave him a slip, only leading him far away from his camp, in the pursuit. It was evening when he started back and seeing a lake he decided to halt on its bank for the night. He first fed and refreshed his horse and then rested for a while, when he heard some song near about. Going in quest of the source of it, he happened to see a divine young girl, singing before an image of Lord S'iva. She saw him, welcomed him as a guest and both asked about each other. Then after the Prince told information about himself, the girl (मनोरथप्रभा) began her account as follows.

(Manorathaprabha's Narrative) There is a city named वाञ्छनाभ on the slopes of हिमालय. There lives a lord of Vidyadharas named पद्मदत्त there. I am his daughter loved more than a son, born of a Queen named हेमप्रभा. My name

is मनोरथप्रभा. One day when I was wandering on the bank of this lake with a lady-friend of mine, I saw a young मुनिकुमार with a friend of his. We both (viz the मुनिकुमार and myself) were greatly impressed with each other. My friend asked of his friend about the मुनिकुमार's personal information. He said There lives in a hermitage nearby a sage named दीधिति; he, a brahmacharin once came for bath to this lake and was seen by Lakṣmī. Lakṣmī, without physical union, got a son from the sage on account of mutual love, and she handed over the son to the sage, who brought him up and named him as रश्मिमान्. The मुनिकुमार under reference was this रश्मिमान् son of दीधिति and लक्ष्मी. My friend told then about my ancestry, and we both fell in love. Just then another lady friend of mine came there with a message from my father calling me back, as it was time for food. Just as I finished my food, I heard from my lady-friend that the friend of रश्मिमान् had come to see me on behalf of his friend. That friend told how रश्मिमान् was overcome by cupid and could not live without मनोरथप्रभा. By the time I went to meet him I found that रश्मिमान् had already died at moonrise. I wanted to consume myself to fire with the corpse of my lover. But some lustrous divine being came there from heaven and went away to heaven taking रश्मिमान्'s body with him. A divine voice asked me not burn myself, when I tried to do so alone. The voice assured me that I would again meet my lord. And so here I am, propitiating Śiva, and longing for reunion with my lord. I do not know where the friend of रश्मिमान् went.

Hearing this narrative of मनोरथप्रभा, सोमप्रभ asked her where her lady-friend was. To that query she replied. There is a विद्याधर king named सिंहविजय. He has a daughter मकरन्दिका. That girl is a very close friend of mine and she is very grieved on account my misfortune. She had sent a friend of hers today to inquire about me and I have sent my friend to her along with her friend. So I am alone just now. Just then came the lady friend of मनोरथप्रभा.

They all spent the night there. Next morning came a विद्याधर, named दशजय. He had been sent by king सिंहविजय requesting

मनोरथप्रभा to come at his place and try to make मकरन्दिका think of marriage, which she is refusing on account of the postponed marriage of मनोरथप्रभा. When मनोरथप्रभा prepared to start, गोमप्रभ expressed his desire to visit the विद्याधरशोक and मनोरथप्रभा gladly took him there, leaving आशुधवा well provided for, behind. When they reached their destination सोमप्रभ and मकरन्दिका mutually fell in love. मनोरथप्रभा settled their marriage in consultation with the elders, telling मकरन्दिका that she need not delay her marriage, for her sake, because her marriage is already fixed, she is only awaiting its solemnisation.

गोमप्रभ suggested that he should first go back to the hermitage of मनोरथप्रभा, where he would like to meet his army, which would be searching for him and worried about him. He would then return to सिंहविजय's place for the marriage. When this was agreed to and he returned to the hermitage, he met his friend प्रियकर with the army and told प्रियकर all that had happened. Just then came a messenger from सोमप्रभ's father calling him back. So the son, in obedience to his father's command, started homewards, telling मनोरथप्रभा and the विद्याधर देवजय who had accompanied them upto the hermitage that that he would soon return. देवजय conveyed this information to मकरन्दिका who was very disconsolate through lovelornness. Her parents tried their best to comfort her but finding her disconsolate still, मकरन्दिका's father cursed her to be born in the निषाद community for a while, which happened accordingly. The repentent सिंहविजय died in grief along with his wife. He first became a sage and then due to some earlier unrequited demerit a parrot, and his wife became an अरण्यमूकरी. This parrot remembered his learning of previous life through तपोव्रत. Thinking of these vicissitudes of this parrot's life, said Pulastya : I laughed. He further said that this parrot, when he would tell the story in the royal court would be free from that birth. And रामप्रभ would meet मकरन्दिका that daughter of सिंहविजय in his विद्याधर birth as a निषादी. And so also मनोरथप्रभा would obtain रविमान who is born now as a king as her husband. रामप्रभ, having seen his father, went to the आश्रम and is there propitiating Lord शिव to get his beloved (who by her father's curse has become a निषादी). Pulastya stopped telling this narrative and

I remembered the previous life with joy and grief. The sage गरीवि brought me up. I, on my wings being grown, flew here and there displaying my lore till I was caught by निपाद and was brought to your majesty. And now has ended my sin which had made me a parrot. On hearing this narrative king सुमनस too had a mental ecstasy. Just then Lord Śiva, who was pleased, told Somaprabha to go to the court of Sumanas, where he would meet his beloved as a निपादकन्या named मुक्तालता with her father as a parrot in cage. They both (सोमप्रभ and मकरन्दिका) would regain their previous status. So also Śiva asked मनोरथप्रभा to come to the court of सुमनस who was रतिमान. There these two lovers too would be reunited in their original form. All the four, so also the parrot, regain their form and fortune.

Baṇa's handling of this source — It would be noticed, if we compare this story with the Kadambari narrative, that but for change of names of persons and places the two stories run very close from the beginning upto the return of चन्द्रपीड to उज्जयिनी after his visits to हम्बूट. The two minor changes are that while in कथामरित्सागर version सोमप्रभ volunteers to accompany मनोरथप्रभा on her visit to सिद्धविक्कम's place, in Kadambari महादेवा suggests that चन्द्रपीड may accompany her to चित्ररथ's place. Secondly in कथामरित्सागर, मनोरथप्रभा arranges the betrothal of सोमप्रभ and मकरन्दिका at the time of this visit under reference, while in कदम्बरी, no betrothal is done, though चन्द्रपीड and कदम्बरी fall in love mutually. In the latter part of the story the two versions fall out to a great extent. In the कथामरित्सागर version, मकरन्दिका who had become lovelorn on the departure of सोमप्रभ, was cursed by her own father to be a निपादी when मकरन्दिका could not be made to give up her melancholy mood. Then her father himself died and became a parrot. I narrated his account in the court of सुमनस (who was रतिमान, lover of मनोरथप्रभा, in a new birth). Then the parrot, the निपादी who brought it there and king Sumanas regained their earlier forms. Somaprabha and Manorathaprabha are directed to that place by Śiva and the two couples and सिद्धविक्कम meet in all happiness. In कदम्बरी Candrapīda went back to Ujjayini leaving वैशम्पायन to accompany the army on its return

journey at a leisurely pace. But when the army reached back it was found that Vaiṣampāyana had not returned because for some unknown reason, he insisted to stay back on the banks of Acchoda lake. Candrapīḍa came there to take him back. But he found that Vaiṣampāyana had vanished. On inquiring of महाश्वेता he learnt that he had solicited love of Mahāśvētā and she had cursed him to be a parrot. Hearing that, Candrapīḍa too died. Kadambarī, who had reached there just then, was preparing to die herself but an आकाशवाणी intervened and told her to preserve Candrapīḍa's corpse, for Candrapīḍa would be revived. Patralekhā entered the Acchoda with Indrayudha and out came Kapinjala (who was born as Indrayudha). From Kapinjala महाश्वेता learnt that वैशम्पायन whom she had cursed to be a parrot, was the same as पुण्डरीक.

When Jambhī told this narrative, the parrot remembered its earlier birth as वैशम्पायन. When he went in quest of चन्द्रापीड he fell in the hands of a चाण्डालकन्या (who was Lakṣmī his mother in his birth as पुण्डरीक). She brought the parrot to king Śudraka. On hearing the parrot's tale सुद्रक remembered that he was चन्द्रापीड, and casting away his body entered Candrapīḍa's body, which became alive again. So also the parrot became पुण्डरीक and went to Acchoda and there the happy reunion of पुण्डरीक and महाश्वेता and चन्द्रापीड and कदम्बरी took place.

Bana has followed the कथासरित्सागर narrative very faithfully in the main outline for a major portion, as seen above. But the names of characters in the two versions are different. While in the कथासरित्सागर version the Himalayan regions and Vidyadharas figure, बाण refers to more southern regions at many stages and the गन्धर्व and अप्सरस figure in his narrative. Further Bana expands and duplicates: thus for example he has added the characters of शुकनास and वैशम्पायन, he has two विद्वत्s instead of one: he describes the childhood of चन्द्रापीड which his source does not. Bana's descriptions and elaboration of love theme are all his own. "In the tale, however, after the prince's departure, the princess मकरदिव्या annoys by her grief her parents so deeply, that she is cursed to

become a निषाद maiden, while her father it is who, ashamed of his action, dies and becomes the parrot, who repeats the tale of its experiences and what it heard Pulastya recite, to king Sumanas. At the court of that prince सोमप्रभ is reunited to the निषाद maiden, who resumes her true shape, and it is the king who is revealed as रश्मिमान, mind-son of the sage दीर्घनि, and is united to मनोरथप्रभा, while the parrot is released and reaps the fruit of its austerities" (Keith). Bana's story of Kādambari was summarised in 78 verses and was put in the 24th वेताल story in some Mss of the बृहत्कथामञ्जरी ( vide the परिशिष्ट at the end of that work. Nir Edn )

### Critical Remarks on Kādambari —

The tale of Kādambari is strange and unreal for one who has no belief in rebirth or reunion after death. To such a person the story would appear to be fantastic and the atmosphere unreal. But to the Indian mind which believes in the transmigration of soul through various births, reunion after death, divine intervention and grace, curses and counter-curses, and the inter mixture of the human with the supernatural, there is nothing fantastic or impossible in such a tale. To the Indian mind "the story may justly be deemed replete with tenderness of human love, the beneficence of divine consolation, the pathos and the sorrow of death and the abiding hope of reunion after death as a result of unswerving fidelity to love" ( Keith ).

While Harṣacarita is a historical Kāvya and as such in it Bana had to keep his fancy related to fact in such a way that the story should have a fair semblance to the facts of the Harṣa era, the Kādambari is an entirely imaginative work and Bana could give free scope to his Poetic Muse therein. Bana's Kādambari fully lives up to his own description of कथा—"स्फुरत्कलाजपि-कासकोमला करोति राग हृदि कोतुवापिकम् । रसन शय्या स्वयमभ्युपगता कथा जनस्याग्निनवा वधूरिव ॥—कदम्बरी Intro v 8

"The principal sentiment of the work is शृङ्गार (love). Bana's treatment of love is refined and graceful. For a conspicuous instance of the sentiment the reader may be referred to the poet's description of कदम्बरी when she mounted her terrace in order to



have a look at चन्द्रापीड and generally the whole state of her mind from that moment onwards. Ever since Kādambarī gazed at the prince, Bāna has delineated beautifully the currents of youthful passion and virgin modesty, which sway a girl's mind when she first falls in love. Bāna has developed the sentiment of वृद्धनार through all the ten stages including that of death, which rarely has been achieved by any poet before or after him. Among the other minor sentiments displayed in the book may be mentioned those of wonder and pathos, instances of which are scattered all over the work, chief among which may be noted the successive lives of the moon and पुण्डरीक and the state of कदम्बरी and महाश्वेता on the death of their lovers". (Kale - amended and amplified).

There is no lack of movement. Even though Bāna's descriptions and eloquent effusions halt the narrative now and then, the action still manages to keep a quick tempo as a whole. Bāna's use of contrast is seen in his descriptions of the innocent life of the parrots on the क्षात्रमूली tree or the peaceful life of Jabali's hermitage on the one hand and the pomp and splendour of the courts of Śūdraka and Tarapīḍa on the other. His sense of drama is revealed by the brilliant portraits of king Śūdraka and the Candālakanyā. His close observation and love of nature are seen in the descriptions of the Himālayas, the lake अशोद, महाश्वेता's abode and the like. As in the Harṣacarita so in the Kādambarī, Bāna blends the descriptions of natural scenes with those of urban life. The political insight shown in Harṣacarita is seen again in Kādambarī in Śūkanāśa's advice to Candrapīḍa, or Kapiljñā's advice to Puṇḍarikā both of which are amongst the masterpieces of Bāna's literary art too. In Kādambarī, however, we find "a more mature view and a deeper insight into the springs of human action". Kādambarī obviously seems to be later than Harṣacarita.

There are some defects of Bāna as a writer, which we have to admit. The style at places is verbose, the construction of the plot of कदम्बरी is very complex with past and present lives interwoven in the narrative, there is lack of proportion at places descriptions are often overdone e.g. description of महाश्वेता or of Candālikāyitana. "Bāna does not let his reader see the wood

for the trees, in his devotion to the beauties of the evening and morning, on the rising of the moon, or limbs of his heroines, he often loses sight of the plot itself " (Keith).

"The last but not the least of all comes our author's peculiar excellence in adapting even a story of super-human beings to the daily concerns of the universal human nature" (Kale). Apropos the use of supernatural element in *Kadambari* by Bana, Dr. Peterson has the following remarks to make. "Bana's greatest merit we have reserved to the last. Separated as we are by a thousand years and one-half the world from this Indian writer, there is nothing surprising in the fact that the superhuman machinery of his tale, the hero who is the moon, the Gandharvas, the Kinnaras, *Kadambari's* home beyond the mountains that gird the world, strike us at first as flaws which no natural force on the author's part can remedy. As we proceed all that falls away, and we find ourselves face to face with a story of human sorrow and divine consolation, of death and of passionate longing for a union after death, that goes straight from the heart of one who himself felt the pang, and nursed the hope, to us who are of like frame with him. The machinery is as unreal as that of *Virgil's* poem. the pathos is *Virgilian*. *Miseri et mortalia tangunt*. *Kadambari* has its place in the world's literature as one more aspiration out of the very heart of genius after that story, which from the beginning of time, mortal ears have yearned to hear, but which mortal lips have never spoken."

On *Bhāṇu*'s literary ability, which we must assess in passing, there is a difference of opinion. Keith is too hard on him, and in brief his observations are: He is inferior to his father. His hurried treatment of the remainder of the plot was perhaps due to inherent difficulties, but he is deficient in his father's facile imagination. His knowledge of mythology and observation of the flora and fauna of Nature is much less than his father's. He at times becomes too lengthy e. g. in the description of *Kadambari's* lovelorn condition. He has no master-pieces like *Sukanasa's* advice to his credit. Mr. Kane has almost similar complaints about *Bhāṇu*. He too says that we do not find the bold and

striking fancies of Bāṇa in the *Uttarabhāga*, nor the masterpieces like Sukanāśa's advice, that descriptions by him tend to become often tedious and lengthy as in the descriptions of Kādambari's love torments, that references to mythology and to other branches of learning are few and far between in *Uttarabhāga*, that Bhūṣaṇa has attempted to wind up the threads of narrative hurriedly, and that the picturesque nature-descriptions and the genius for making characters live as if, are wanting in Bhūṣaṇa's work. We feel Bhūṣaṇa is being judged too harshly. Why compare his amateur work against the mature production of Bāṇa? Even Bāṇa in his apprentice days had many faults. Bhūṣaṇa, though no compeer to Bāṇa, was not much inferior to him. And this point is conceded practically by Mm. Kōṇe too for he opines that Bhūṣaṇa deserves great credit for the task of completing *वादम्बरी*, dutifully undertaken and creditably performed. He also says that Bhūṣaṇa's command over Sanskrit and his use of ornate style and अलङ्कार's are almost similar to his father's.

Kādambari unfortunately was left incomplete by Bāṇabhaṭṭa due to the cruel hand of death snatching him away, and his son Bhūṣaṇa completed it, not to flaunt his poetic abilities, but as part of filial duty. Many scholars, as said above, have asserted that Bhūṣaṇa is a much inferior literary artist. De and Dasgupta too hold the same opinion. They grudgingly admit that Bhūṣaṇa has considerable command over ornate style and diction, and possesses some literary excellences of his father, but say that he imitates and at time exaggerates some of his father's mannerisms, and adds a few of his own.

[The story of *वादम्बरी* deals with the lives and loves of two heroes, each of whom is re-born twice. The story is narrated in a very complex way with stories boxed in stories. Bāṇa's own narrative ends before the plot is properly developed, and it is Bāṇa's son who ingeniously completes it. How far Bāṇa's son has developed it as per his father's original ideas is not exactly known. Some scholars and critics think that Bāṇa may not have made the narrative as confusingly complex in latter part as his son has done it. They wonder whether Bāṇa intended to make *Sudraka* and

the parrot to be चन्द्रपीड and वैद्यनाथन. In fine, they feel that Bana might have closely followed the Bṛhatkatha version to the end. But we feel that this is very dubious criticism. Bhūṣaṇa must have probably known his father's plan of developing the story, and we cannot agree with the view of De and Dasgupta that the charges of complexity of plot and deficiency of construction should not be fairly levelled at Bana, but at his son, in whose portion these occur. For we feel that Bhūṣaṇa knew the broad outlines of the plot as planned by his father and tried his best to complete his father's unfinished work as per that plan. He may have been guilty of some faults of plot-complexity or plot construction, but we cannot put the entire responsibility and blame for these on him. We feel so because Bana's son refers to the debt he owes to his father, in writing the उत्तरभाग, in the following words: 'बोजानि गमितफलानि विनासभाञ्जि वप्नेव यान्मुचिर-वर्मबलाहृतानि । उद्दृष्टभूमिवित्तानि च यान्ति पोष तान्येव तस्य सनयेन सुसहृतानि ॥' This should clearly indicate that Bhūṣaṇa had the scheme of the Uttarabhāga, inherited from his father, during the latter's life time, and that he completed Kadambari on these lines. This would give the lie to the view of many scholars that Bhūṣaṇa has not been a worthy completer of Bana's plan, and that probably Bana would have done the job much better and much differently. Perhaps Bana would have done it much better, but we do not think he would have done it much differently. It is fair commonsense that the plan of the father for whole work must have been fairly well known to his son, particularly when the son was himself a literary person. We may say that he wound up the threads somewhat hurriedly and this made the details at times somewhat confusing. Some say the denouement as presented by Bhūṣaṇa is flat, but this is only partly true. On the whole he has welded the plot well and kept the element of suspense and surprise right upto the end, where we, with as much surprise as शूद्रक and शुक realise, that they are the heroes of that narrative.

"That the method of embroidering tales can be carried to a confusing extent is seen in the arrangement of समरन's कथाचरित-सर, where, often with an insignificant framework, we have A's

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account of B's report of C's recounting of D's relating of what E said, and so forth, until we have the disentangling of the entire intricate progression, or reversion to the main story, which the reader in the meantime probably forgets. The form is not ill suited to a succession of disconnected tales, as in the पञ्चतन्त्र, where they are narrated generally by the characters of the frame-story or of the inset stories. There is further improvement in the दशबुमारचरित, where, their several experiences are narrated, with a semblance of realism, by the princes themselves in the first person and in the वेतालपञ्चविंशति, where all the separate tales are connected to serve one main purpose. In the Kadambari, the old machinery is adapted, with a clever plan, to the conditions of the complex narrative. The device of first hand narration is made an essence of the form for the inset stories explain matters which the main narrator could not himself know and which each subsequent narrator is allowed to describe as coming within the scope of personal experience. The main narrative here is not recounted by the hero, but in effect by the sage जादवनि, who supposed by his insight to know vividly what he relates and who can describe freely and objectively but each of the minor narratives like that of महाश्वता, gives effective expression to the intimate knowledge and feeling, and is made essential to the development of the plot'. (De & Dasgupta)

Bhaga's characterisation is also very effective. Besides the main characters of अन्धपीड, वादवरी, पुष्परीन and मालविका, we find a number of minor characters like ताराशेख, दूरवास, वैशम्पायन, मण्डिकार्य, विष्णुवरी, पद्मेष्वा etc all infused with life and colour. We now give character sketches of the leading characters in Kadambari.

**Kadambari** We shall aptly enough begin with the charactersketch of Kadambari the graceful heroine of the story which Bhaga has named after her. It is the peculiar method of Bhaga's narration, which has delayed the entry of this Gandharva princess till a pretty late stage of the narrative, and Mahaveti holds the stage earlier with her noble majesty but once Kadambari comes on the stage, she keeps the attention of the readers by her shy charm. Kadambari has been shown as a beautiful, coy girl, who

is born and grows up in almost idyllic happiness. The first encounter with harsh realities of life comes when her dear friend Mahasveta has a poignant task of waiting for the revival of her dead lover; and a sincere friend that Kadambari is, she refuses to marry till महादेवता regains her happiness. Kadambari had great love and regard for her parents and her noble family. When she meets Candrapida who happened to come to visit her place with Mahasveta, she is deeply drawn towards him as he is towards her; and they fall in love at first sight. But then this modest shy girl, like Bhavabhuti's Malati, is torn between love and family considerations. But when she finds herself in an identical situation with Mahasveta on Candrapida's death she wants to die, only to be halted by divine hand and asked to wait for the day of re-union with her revived lord. And then in spite of all persuasions of her parents to go back home, she prefers to stay in penance at Acchoda and faces the test of life with stern resoluteness. The delicate girl suddenly becomes a resolute beloved defying 'death' to recover her Lord. The personality of buoyant, sweettempered and sweetly eloquent bashful Kadambari is an excellent foil to the noble, ascetic and majestic Mahasveta, no less sweet in form, word and deed. The following appreciative remarks of Dr. Peterson about Kadambari aptly reveal her real status in the story. "On his representation of Kadambari in particular Bana has spent all his wealth of observation, fullness of imagery, keenness of sympathy. From the moment when for the first time her eye falls and rests on



Acchoda lake. Receiving Candrapida with great courtesy and hospitality and forming a friendship with that noble prince, she unfolds her tale of woe and hope to his sympathetic ears. We learn therefrom how this young frail-looking girl has a steellike firmness in her devotion to her lord and to love though fate plays many a cruel prank against her. Once she falls in love, she displays a single-hearted devotion and grit. An affectionate friend both to कदम्बरी and चन्द्रपीड, she tries her best to make them come together in a happy wedlock. Fair in form, she is equally fair in disposition and character and reminds one of Parvati, practising penance for attaining Lord Siva as her Lord. She tries her best to wean away Kadambari from the latter's decision not to marry till महाश्वेता was happy, and introduces Candrapida to her with the obvious expectation that she would be drawn towards him and he towards her. She is mortified to see that वैशम्पायन whom she cursed to be a parrot was पुण्डरीक himself. Her sincere love, like that of Kadambari, wins in the end.

**Candrapida** An incarnation of Moon, Prince चन्द्रपीड was a highly gifted prince. He was beautiful in person, sharp in intellect and heroic by nature. He was brought up with great care by his father and was educated in a very thorough going way. In due course he became the युवराज and also a universal conqueror. With all these shining qualities, he shone still more by his great devotion to parents, great respect to elders like शुक्नास and मनोरमा and exemplary modesty and humility. He was also a very affectionate friend and वैशम्पायन and महाश्वेता had the great privilege specially to enjoy that friendship in full bounty. He was a very considerate master whether to the debonair maid-in-waiting Patralekha or the famous steed Indrajudha. He was a sincere lover and Kadambari was his heart's all in all. When he returned from हेमकूट [after meeting Kadambari, his mind was torn between उज्जयिनी and हेमकूट. When he came in search of वैशम्पायन, back to the Acchoda bank, and found वैशम्पायन turned into a parrot, he died of heartbreak. True to his जगत्तरसदयनि or जननान्तरहीन, he even as Sudraka, kept old ties, for Sudraka with all his kingly qualities and accomplishments was verse to love-matters. We find

चन्द्रपीड a good conversationalist and an eloquent pleader of a cause. Altogether a worthy life partner for Kādambarī.

पुण्डरीक-वैशम्पायन-द्वय— Puṇḍarīka, the lover of Mahāśvetā was the son of Śvetaketu and Lakṣmī. He was an embodiment of beauty and intelligence. Born of स्त्रीवीर्य alone he had in his very make-up a weakness of nature that would be overwhelmed by passion. He, once afflicted by love for Mahāśvetā could not control his mind by his own will power, nor by the admonitions or persuasions of Kapīlajāla. He cursed the Moon in desperation and brought upon himself two births viz वैशम्पायन and दुष्य before he could be reunited with Mahāśvetā. In his birth as वैशम्पायन he was a very deeply devoted son to शुक्रनास and मनोरमा and a devoted friend to चन्द्रपीड. He was very intelligent and erudite. But on the banks of Acchoda he came under the influence of प्राक्पदसंस्कारs, which over-whelmed him, and he was inexorably led to make advances to Mahāśvetā and court disaster in the bargain, by getting a curse of becoming a parrot. In that parrot's birth too he passed through different vicissitudes keeping the earlier सत्कारs of learning and finally in Śūdraka's court got redemption from that birth and all then went to Acchoda to come together in a joyous 'coming together' of lovers and friends.

Then we get king Tarāpīda, a great king affectionate husband and loving father. He had the worthy and wise minister शुक्रनास who was a friend, philosopher and guide to him, sharing his weal and woe. Tarāpīda was possessed of great composure of mind, which we see in his consolation of Vīlasavati. But when वैशम्पायन did not return with the army, Tarāpīda severely, and much wrongly admonished Candrapīda for that event. But when he learnt of his son's death and his would be revival, he went to the banks of Acchoda with his queen and remained there patiently waiting for that day. He treated Kādambarī with a great paternal affection. A typical Indian great king he retired in the end in the typical Indian style, leaving the charge of kingdom in the hands of Candrapīda. And through all the ups and downs of life he had by his side the devout, beautiful and noble Queen Vīlasavati, to whom all the world seemed to centred in her husband and son, and in her happy

home. Other characters of note are the wise सुकनास devoted Manoramā, the intelligent पद्मदेवा, the very sincere कपिजला the royal 'age Sudraka the winsome Candrakanya the holy sage जादालि and his kind son, young हारीत, so also मदलेखा, नेयूरक, इन्द्रायुध and many others!

[Commentaries on the Kadambari —The only commentary generally available is that of मानुचंद्र ( a Jam Pandit ) on the पूर्वभाग, and of सिद्धचंद्र ( मानुचंद्र's disciple ) on the उत्तरभाग.] The commentary of these two has been published by Nirnayasagara press. Both the writers were proteges of Emperor Akbar. The said composite commentary repeats almost every word of the text and is very useful in understanding the text of Kadambari. But it does not meet all the needs of a modern university student. The commentary rarely discusses variant readings. It seldom cites parallel passages hardly gives accurate references to works like रामायण महाभारत and पुराण s and often gives farfetched explanations some of which are positively wrong. The important aid of this commentary is in the dissolution of compounds and quotations from Kośa.]

Dr Peterson's notes bear evidence of three other commentaries on the पूर्वभाग (1) 'चपक' by Sivarama Tripathi (2) A commentary by बालकृष्ण and (3) A commentary by सुवाकर. Another commentary on the पूर्वभाग in the विषयपरविश्लिष्ट of वैद्यनाथ. Two more commentators on the Kadambari are महादेव and सूरचंद्र (both mentioned by Aufrecht). Mm Kane could not get any of these commentaries except the commentary of मानुचंद्र and सिद्धचंद्र.

Mm. Kane was supplied by Mm Ganapatisastry with transcripts in देवनागरी script of two commentaries on the Kadambari, written in old Malayalam characters on palm-leaves. The first of it called आमोद is in verse. The author is a Brahmana named अष्टमूर्ति, whose father was Narayana. He chose verse for memorableness. अष्टमूर्ति was an inhabitant of Malabar (Kerala) and belonged to Bhargugotra. It is quite a learned commentary and the author seems to be well read. But the commentary is not exhaustive. At places it is very meagre. The commentary is fuller

at the beginning. But the उत्तरभाग of कादम्बरी, which occupies one of third the whole कादम्बरी gets only  $\frac{1}{8}$  extent of the commentary. The commentator often notices readings and quotes the views of various other commentaries by words like 'केनचित्', 'अपर' etc. One commentator seems to be referred by name viz. मत्स्यकेतु. The commentator, mentioning काव्यप्रकाश and क्षेमेन्द्र amongst several writers is later than about 1200 A D, the specific date is not known.

The second commentary (कादम्बरी पदार्थ दर्पण) is by an anonymous writer. This also comments on both पूर्वभाग and उत्तरभाग. The commentary is generally meagre, and seldom notices variant readings. The writer seems to be a South Indian, probably from Kerala.

Mm Kane has argued, with reasons, that दर्पण seems to be earlier than आनन्द and आनन्द seems to refer to दर्पण at places without naming it and at places he seems to improve on आनन्द's explanations.

On the उत्तरभाग Mm Kane refers to a commentary by वर्जुनचण्डित son of चन्द्रदास. It is a very learned and critical commentary. The commentator often discusses various readings. At times he refers to the views of other commentators without naming any. It is not known whether he wrote any commentary on the पूर्वभाग.

Kṛṣṇamacāriar mentions three additional names of commentators of Kadambari viz हरिदास, शिवराम and चन्द्रायाम.

**Works connected with or based on Kadambari Story.**—The story of Kadambari is originally traceable to the बृहत्कथा. It is found in सोमदेव's कथासरित्सागर and क्षेमेन्द्र's बृहत्कथामञ्जरी (Shri Kṛṣṇamacāriar curiously enough refers to वामनमट्टवाण's बृहत्कथामञ्जरी) and Dandin's अवन्तीमुदरीकथा (wherein the story agrees only in the पूर्वभाग portion of कादम्बरी, which is composed by Bana himself). Dhundiraja Vyasayajan wrote the अभिनवकादम्बरी, while there is an anonymous कल्पितकादम्बरी. Epitomes of Kadambari are available in good number. These are (1) यमिनन्द's कादम्बरीकथासार a poem of eight Cantos (2) विजयदेव's

(alias त्रिविक्रम) कादम्बरीकथामार, a poem of thirteen Cantos (3) कादम्बरीकथामार by अम्बक (4) कादम्बरीचम्पू by धीरष्ठाभिनवशास्त्रिन् (5) कादम्बरीवत्पाणय by नरसिंह (6) पञ्चकादम्बरी by लोमन्त (7) कादम्बरीकथामार by मणिराम (8) मक्षिप्तकादम्बरी by काशीनाथ (9) कादम्बरीसङ्ग्रह by R. V. Kṛṣṇamācārya (10) चन्द्रापीडचरित by V. Anantācārya (11) कादम्बरीसार by Aptē (12) कादम्बरीकथा by Navare (Epitomes of Harṣacarita are available by R. V. Kṛṣṇamācārya, Śrinivāsācārya and Mm. V. V. Mirashi ).

Some Miscellaneous Points.—(1) "Three verses of Kadambarī in praise of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahman are quoted in a grant of महाराजक कुमारपालदेव (संवत् 1297, I A. XVII 230). But the introductory verses are not found in manuscript D, V. XXI 6315." (Kṛṣṇamācārya).

(2) According to some scholars the introductory verses in Kadambarī are not from Bhaṭṭa's pen, but from his son or some one else. Mm. Kane rightly rejects this view for the following reasons:—(1) If Bhaṭṭa's son would have written these verses he would have mentioned the fact of his authorship thereof as he has done in case of the उद्दामाग्न. (2) He hardly would have given such a colourless description of his father as we find in the verse द्विजेन तेन &c. (3) Bhaṭṭa, an orthodox author, was normally expected to have a Maṅgala at the beginning of his Kadambarī as he has done at the beginning of his Harṣacarita. (4) लोमन्त in his works has quoted four verses of the introduction to Kadambarī, ascribing two of these specifically to Bhaṭṭa ए. "ननु दया भट्टकान्तय 'जयमुकुन्दः ॥ बभार दूरक' &c. (in अतिविस्तारचरित) and 'ननु बभक्तो' &c. (quoted as बाप's in त्रिविक्रमसंग्रह)"

## CHAPTER VII

### BĀNABHATTA AS A LITERARY ARTIST.

‘ वागीश्वर हन्त भजेऽभिन्दमर्षेस्वर वाक्पतिराजमीडे ।  
रसेश्वर स्तौमि च कालिदास वाण तु सर्वेश्वरमानतोऽस्मि ॥’

—सोऽदलप.

Bāṇa is one of the most brilliant stars in the galaxy of Sanskrit Poets. He is as peerless a master of Sanskrit Prose as Kalidasa is of Sanskrit Verse or Drama. And he is the norm and model for later Sanskrit गद्यकविः. Sanskrit prose is limited in extent, but Bāṇa has made up by his quality for that deficiency. He can well be termed the Prince of Sanskrit Prose writers. It has been said by rhetoricians that Prose is the touchstone of poets (cp. गद्य वचीना निश्चय वदन्ति—quoted by वामन in his [काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्ति on I 3 21]), and Bāṇa has no compeer in the field of Sanskrit Prose. His two masterpieces, the हर्षचरित and the कादम्बरी are the outstanding specimens of the two classes of literary prose compositions viz. शास्त्राविका and कथा respectively, and are said to be fine examples of Pāṇinī style (cp. चन्द्रार्थयो समो गुप्फ पाञ्चाली रीतिरिष्यते । शीलामट्टारिकावाचि वाणोन्तिषु च सा यदि ॥—कल्याणि, क्षत्रिणंभरपद्वति No 179). In पाञ्चाली style word and sense have to be equally balanced. Ancient and modern critics have bestowed on Bāṇa an unjustified mead of praise (cp App II for appreciation by ancients and this chapter VII for appreciation by modern critics).

Bāṇa's style is characterised by some as पाञ्चाली (चन्द्रार्थयो समो गुप्फ पाञ्चाली रीतिरिष्यते). But personally we feel that वाण alternately uses the गौडी and वैदर्भी styles (वामन, by the way refers to three style viz. वैदर्भी, गौडी, and पाञ्चाली. These originally seem to be provincial peculiarities. निश्वनाथ, author of साहित्य-दण, added लाटी to the list, while Bhojaraja and others added three more to वामन's list viz. बावन्तिका, लाटीया and मागधी. cp. “वैदर्भी चाप पाञ्चाली गौडी बावन्तिका तथा । लाटीया मागधी चेति षोडश रीतिर्निगद्यते ।” Provincial stylistic tendencies are also referred to by Bāṇa in Harṣa Intro. v 7). Bāṇa, in his ornate portions,

prominently displays ओजस (described as समासमयस्त्वम्) a characteristic of कौटो style, and in simpler passages he displays माधुर्य, प्रसाद and लालित्य of the वैदर्भी style धर्मदास in his विदग्धमुसमण्डन mentions two characteristics of Bāṇa's style (1) रचिरस्वरवर्णपदत्व (having charming words and letters and sound echoing sense) and (2) रसभाववत्त्व (describing appropriate sentiments and emotions) The author of राघवपाण्डवीय has referred to Bāṇa's proficiency in वक्रोक्ति (an exaggerated or indirect manner of describing things). Ācārya Pithak observes that in Bāṇa's writings we get three types of prose styles (1) उत्कलिका which abounds in compounds, and which he has used mainly in descriptive passages (2) घूर्णक which contains a few small compounds here and there and which Bāṇa freely uses all over his works and (3) आविष्ट which generally eschews compounds and which Bāṇa uses in highly sentimental and emotional passages and often towards the end of long descriptions

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The first thing which strikes us about Bāṇa's literary style is his overfloodness for puns and recondite allusions. He is never satisfied unless he uses, practically at every step, double-meaning words and expressions. When he begins to give long chains of श्लिष्टोपमाs, where there is no other resemblance between the उन्मान and उपमेय except a श्लिष्ट expression, one almost gets exasperated with him. So also when Bāṇa gives a wealth of mythological, historical, geographical, philosophic, Śāstric or literary allusions, one is bewildered by their brilliance, plenty and variety. He uses all the paths of वक्रोक्ति of sound and sense in the flow of his descriptions, and the modern critic may be almost offended at this intellectual and literary firework but the ancient critic had a great partiality for such fare. We find for example Subandhu boasting of his प्रयत्नरसलेख and कविराज acknowledging only him and Bāṇa as his equals in that province.

Another characteristic feature of his style is the use of long compounds, which at times extend over more than one line, and which along with Bāṇa's propensity for puns make his works so ornate as to scare his general readers and particularly to many European scholars these traits become a puzzle and despair. But

while admitting Bāṇa's ornateness we must not forget that Bāṇa wrote in an age when the Rhetoric norm for prose was 'ओज समासमयद्वयमेतदस्य जीवितम्' (Kavyādarśa I 80). Bāṇa naturally tried to show his ability to wield an ओजस्वती style, but this fact should not blind us to the fact, which Weber and Co. do not care to note, that there are numerous literary masterpieces of simple graceful and elegant prose in Bāṇa's works. Bāṇa writes in a mellifluous Vaidarbha when particular sentiments or emotions require it. He seems to have anticipated आनन्दवर्धन's dictum गद्यवेषेऽपि दीर्घसमासरचना न विप्रलम्भसदृशवारवदण्वोराख्यायिकायामपि दीयते। (आनन्दवर्धन obviously is not exhaustive in listing items calling for simplicity). Actually Bāṇa seems to have a double stylistic personality which he uses as per the occasion. At times we find Bāṇa wielding a smooth, simple, facile, colloquial style, at times he writes vigorous, majestic, high flown and ornate prose. But even in such ornate passages, Bāṇa's poetic art, richness of fancy, and mastery over language are obvious. And even his ornate descriptions are interspersed with small words and phrases having their own charm. Generally his diction is smooth and forceful and his imagery and fancy varied and rich. "As we follow from one poetic fancy to another, we are struck at the flights of his imagination in regions we never dreamt of and we see before us a veritable poet who possesses in the most astounding degree the power of giving to airy nothings a local habitation and a name" (P. N. Ganjendragadkar). Only we often have to complain that Bāṇa uses his known gifts of imagination and word painting like a prodigal spendthrift, using them at places without much propriety or proportion, only to display their riotous plenty. २५-६५ २५

Bāṇa uses a very large vocabulary. Though in general he uses words of common occurrence, still he also uses rare, out of the way or obsolete words now and then (and specially so in the Harṣacarita) and it seems that Bāṇa like Carlyle has been inspired with an ambition of having a separate dictionary composed for him.

Another feature of Bāṇa's style is his unwearied fondness for using figures of speech, both of sound and sense. He often



• strives for a jingling assonance of sound or alliteration : He seems at places to be specially striving for such sound effects His prose specially abounds in various arthalamkāras—Upamā, Rūpaka, Utprekṣā, Parīsamkhyā and Virodhābhāsa being of common occurrence. " Indeed Bāṇa at places seems to justify his fondness for उत्प्रेक्षा by telling us that the poet and the lover—he does not include the lunatic as Shakespeare does—are of imagination all compact ( vide Kādambarī p. 199 ll. 12-19 ) and have therefore the privilege of bodying forth the forms of unknown things It is only in these उत्प्रेक्षा's that his imaginative power is seen at its best His eye, in a fine frenzy rolling, moves from heaven to earth and it appears as if there is nothing under the sun that he will not imagine" ( G ) Among other figures of speech used by him are निदर्शना, सङ्गोचित, व्यतिरेक, विषम, व्याघात He is very rich in Subhāṣitas, which have adorned Sanskrit literature ever since ( Vide Appendix A ( Part I ) for his use of a wide variety of Alankāras and Appendix A ( Part II ) for his Subhāṣitas )

Bāṇabhaṭṭa also had a sense of humour, though he is no specialist in the field We find him particularly humorous in the description of the जर्द द्विद धार्मिक That old monk sung songs during day time with nods of his head and with his voice resembling the humming of moths ( दिवसमेव वशकवणितानुकारि किमपि कम्पितोत्तमाङ्ग गायता ) He had to practise a forced celibacy and hence tried to woo old nuns ( cp. गृहीतसुरगप्रह्वययंतयान्यदेशगतोपितासु जरत्प्रव्रजितासु बहुश्रुत्व सप्रयुक्तवसीकरणचूर्णे ). Thus we find that in this entire description Bāṇa has blended humour with realistic description In हर्षचरित he has remarked how स्कन्दगुप्त had ' a nose as long as his sovereign's pedigree ' ( नृपवशादीर्घं नासावश दधान ) .

One undisputed merit of Bāṇabhaṭṭa is his skill in the art of plot-construction We find this evidenced well in his Kādambarī, where a very complex plot is arranged very ingeniously and consistently, with a master-hand The whole story is developed in an atmosphere of deep mystery and suspense, and the curiosity of the reader is kept up right to the end, when one is surprised to realise, all of a sudden, that king Śūdraka and the parrot, introduced to us at the very outset, are the two heroes of the romance in their second and third lives ! The heroine Kādambarī, who

gives the name to the romance comes on the scene only at about the middle of the story, and then we find that the earlier account of Mahasveta's love is just a back ground for developing the story of Kadambari's love. The atmosphere of the story also shifts and contrasts. We start in the august royal presence of king Sudraka, to whom a strikingly beautiful Malanga girl presents a gem of a parrot, and then by a flashback we go the quiet world of parrots and birds on the Salmali tree in the thick Vindhya forest, suddenly ruffled for a while by a Sabara army, we go to the peaceful hermitage of the patriarch Jabali and therefrom once more in Tarapida's royal capital & court in Ujjayini, and soon scale the Himalayan heights, to the regions of Gandharvas and Apsarases. Thus we are kept moving right up to the end. The double story of Kadambari, and Mahasveta, is interlinked and interlaced in a masterly and ingenious way and by itself is a sufficient indication of the poet's superior art of plot construction.

Bana, unlike Subandhu, shows his expert knowledge of grammar in many points e.g. he adheres to the use of perfect only in reference to matters not within the experience of the particular speaker. His long compounds are generally clearly built and often interspersed with shorter words in order to achieve 'ojas'. Bana has considerably influenced later writers like पद्मदास, गोवर्धन and जयदेव by his sound effects and brilliant use of figures of speech.

Bana's descriptive power is really as marvellous as it is varied. While he can give pompous and ornate descriptions of the Vindhya forest or Tarapida's royal household as described at Candrapida's return from his college, or Cagatika temple with old Dravida monk therein (in Kadambari) or of Dadhica or Harisa or Darpasata (in the Haribacanta) he can write literary masterpieces like Sukasata's advice to Candrapida, Candrapida's consolation of Mahasveta or Brahman's address to Durvasas. We now just enumerate at random some beautiful descriptive passages from Bana's works, noted for their varied appeal.—We find a beautiful description of Malati as a veritable flower-boquet in Haribacanta (cp. “बुद्धयः अनुगम्यमाना” —हृ. p. 52). In that work we find the very touching and life-like speech of प्रभाकरवर्धन discussing

with his Queen the marriage of राजरथी We have a striking picture of Bhanu returning with the news of Rajyavardhana's death ("मलिनवासा विशतिवर्ण VII) Elsewhere in Haracarita (p 407) we find a nice description of a Sabara replete with उत्प्रेक्षा and रूपक The lamentations of the friends of राजरथी are touching while दिवाकरमित्र's advice to राजरथी is very eloquent yet simple, and one in Bana's best vein Kadambari presents instances galore of Bana's descriptive art e.g. the condemnation of the forester's life p 32 is simple and colloquial in wording but very eloquent all the same The mental reflections of the young parrot after his father's death are intensely poignant Tarapida's consolation of childless Viasavati is dignified though having an undercurrent of mental anguish bravely suppressed The psychology of a childless man and his longings are very feelingly depicted in Tarapida's speech The speech is a grand स्वभावोक्ति at length [Sankasa's advice to Candrapida is a masterpiece of sage advice and graceful and dignified style The self reproach by Candrapida for the क्लृप्तमिदुनानुसरण is a charmingly worded excellent passage, and the description of the feelings evoked in Candrapida's mind by the sight of the Aechoda lake is known for its majestic beauty (cp K.d pp 124-25 para 9) Candrapida's address to Mahasveta eloquently illustrates the inherent graces of the Sanskrit language, courteous and courtly Kapigjala's admonition of Pundarika displays yet another facet of Bana's sheer command over colloquial Sanskrit which scintillates in admonition The description of forest (on p 223) is very life like And in these different descriptive passages, Bana generally shows a sense of propriety by making the style suit the particular subject in hand Thus while he wields an ornate pen in describing the country of Srikantha or the city of Ujjayini or Emperor Harsha or Sage Jabali, or marriage festivities in Prabhakarvardhana's palace or the dense forests in the Vindhya, he has written in direct and forcible Sanskrit, in simple and elegant diction when occasion needs e.g. Kapigjala's advice to Pundarika, the laments of Rajyagiri's maids or the speech of dying Prabhakarvardhana "In its own way there is a model of force in the picture of the exclamations of the motley host of the royal army and the cries of the despairing

villagers who are being plundered right and left." Bāṇa wields epigrammatic brevity, when he wishes to convey weighty truths or striking thoughts in simple words cp प्रभाकरवर्धन's address to his darling son Harṣa (Harṣa Uc V) or S'ukanāsa's advice to Candrapīḍa, amongst other passages. At times, however, Bāṇa carries his partiality for such epigrams also to a length where he himself almost becomes weary. The descriptions of king Sūdraka, his doorkeeper or Caṇḍalakanyā exhibit Bāṇa's normal prose style. Rhythmical effects and alliterations abound in his descriptions and are often happy cp "सवाम्प्रायस्त्वेव पादपाशुनाङ्गैः, यदि परिगणितं रेव वामरैः सकलनाड्यापलङ्कलिनवरवतिचरणरणायमाननिगडा निगोटा गा न करोमि तत्तत्तनूनराति पीनमपिपि पतद्गङ्गा च पाननी पातयाम्यामानम् ।" (ह p 335) or 'अप्रतिहृतरघरहसा रघुणा लघुनैव कालेनाकारि ककुभा प्रसादनम् । शरासनद्विनीयः करदीचकार चकः कमागतभुजवलाभिजनवनमहाबलिप्ताना भूमजा पाण्डु ।" (ह p 371) Here is Kṛṣṇanamacāriar's compliment to Bāṇa's diction and descriptions: "His language is chaste yet ornate and learned yet—charming, and—his descriptions show no end of their resources. The meeting of सरस्वती and दधीच, the last embrace of प्रभाकरवर्धन of his son, these for instance in हर्षचरित, the beginning of the narrative by the parrot, the advice of S'ukanāsa to Candrapīḍa, the progress of the amours of Kādambarī and Candrapīḍa in the Gandharva capital and the pleasant associations of the lovers after vicissitudes,—these for instance in Kādambarī, are worthy of a special appreciation." Bāṇa depicts with the same minuteness and gusto the fair Mahāśvetā as he does the dark Caṇḍalakanyā.

Bhūsaṇa also has given us several descriptions which show how he had inherited considerable literary abilities of his father. He has graphically described Candrapīḍa's dismay at Vaiṣampāyana's non-return with the army (pp 273-4) and his wonder as to why Vaiṣampāyana should prefer to stay at Aochoda (p 280). A graphic description of morning (p. 284), the condemnation of वैशम्पायन by शकुन्तल (pp 286-9), the shrewd speech of astrologers (p 294), Vilāsavatī bidding adieu to Candrapīḍa starting for the recovery of वैशम्पायन (pp 295-6), Kādambarī's poignant speech of taking leave of Madalekha (pp 315-6), Tarapīḍa's consolation of

Vilāsavati ( pp 334-5 ) are some of the other striking passages in Bhūṣaṅga's work. Sukanāsa's address ( pp 331-8 ) shows Bhūṣaṅga to be a chip of that old block. His varied knowledge is seen herein.

Baṇa shows great skill and discrimination in characterisation. His characters in Harṣacarita and Kadambari are lifelike and well drawn. The affectionate father प्रभाकरवदन, the moody and saintly राज्यवधन, the serene and heroic हय, the ill-fated charming राज्यधी, the gentle and youthful हारीन, the generous and loving ताराशील, the wise and loyal दुर्जन, the tender and devoted विनायकती, the intelligent and devoted पद्मेन, the affectionate yet stern Kapinjala, the holy and fair महादेवा, who serves as a foil to the coy, yet vicious वादम्बरी, are some of the immortal characters that he presents in his two महाकाव्य. All these impress the reader greatly. Baṇa of course, has lavished his skill in full bounty in describing the hero and heroine of the Kadambari. And like Kalidasa or Shakespeare Baṇa too depicts the heroines more strikingly than his heroes. In Harṣacarita Baṇa was dealing with a historical personality as his hero (there is no heroine therein) and he has presented his hero with a fair historical veracity, and has not given more overtones than historical Kāvya can reasonably have. Baṇa's characters are not always clearly individualised; they often appear as broad types. But Baṇa has shown generally deep insight into the working of human mind. He excels specially in characterising his heroine and the characters of Kadambari and Mahasveta are finely individualised. The maidenly love of Kadambari torn between new-born longing and filial duty, being set off by the pathetic fidelity of the lovelorn Mahasveta, awaiting her lover for long years on the shores of the Acchoda lake.

\* Although most of the characters of the Kadambari are shadowy and some of them are in their second or even third birth, the poet's genius is so superb and his power of developing love and pathos is so great that the reader soon forgets the unreal character of the work and his mind is enthralled by the engrossing interest of the woes and happiness of his characters' ( Kane )

"We find ourselves face to face with the story of human sorrow and divine consolation, of death and the passionate longing for union after death, that goes straight from the heart of one who had himself felt the pang and nursed the hope to us who are of like frame with him" (Peterson)

Bāṇa delineates various sentiments with great ability. The love between मञ्जुवती and दुर्लभ or नन्दमुरारी and मञ्जुवती is described with great psychological insight and deft touches. While the description of Prabhakaravardhana's death or Yashovati's self immolation or the tragic condition of Mahasiveta or Kadambari with their lovers dead for the time, are described with a touching pathos. Bāṇa specially excels in depicting विरहभङ्गहार and वरग

Bāṇa's treatment of love is done in a very chaste style, free from grossness. Unlike Dayakumaracarita, which many times degenerates in vulgarity, Bāṇa presents various aspects and stages of love with great precision, sympathy, understanding and unimpeachable good taste. To him love is a lasting reality which binds souls together in a succession of births too. And that love is an inborn emotion which unfolds itself at the proper time under proper circumstances (cp. 'कालो हि गुणश्च दुर्निवारताम् पश्यन्ति प्रेमा

though he does follow many a routine poetic conceit or convention in his references to trees and flowers birds and beasts still on the whole he shows himself to be a great lover, close observer and deft describer of Nature. He has described the flora and fauna of India with great charm, though sometimes his descriptions are overdrawn fanciful and verbose. "Both in his descriptions of natural objects and his poetic imagination, Bana's words breathe a freshness and vigour that bespeak of a warm and sincere admiration for the grandeur of nature which the Indian scenery offers to a poetic mind. And in this respect he has very few equals even among oriental poets." (Kale)

Bana was a close observer of man and nature, of courts and kings, of hermitages and forests—actually of the varied vista of life. His descriptions of court and citylife or of hermitages and village-life present a picture of times in which he lived. The advice of Śūkanāsa is a masterpiece, universal in import. The description of the old Dravidian ascetic, though somewhat long drawn and tedious, shows that he had an eye for the ridiculous and the bizarre. The *Harṣacarita* is of great interest to the antiquarian for the fact that it affords a vivid picture of Indian society in the 7th century and of the manners and customs of those far off days. Bana also shows in all his work a very sturdy commonsense, and a vigorous eloquence. So also we always find in his works the rich dividends of the wide experience of life he gained in his early travels and then residence at royal court which gave him a close knowledge of men and matters.

Weber as back as in 1853 has, in a well known, oft-quoted, but somewhat one sided tirade censured Bana's ornateness in the following words. "Kādambarī compares most unfavourably with the *Daśakumāracarita* by a subtlety and tautology which are almost repugnant, by an outrageous overloading of single words with epithet. The narrative proceeds in a strain of bombastic nonsense, amidst which, if, and if not it then the patience of the reader, threatens to perish altogether a mannerism already apparent in the *Daśakumāracarita* is here carried to excess the verb is kept back to the second, third, fourth, nay once to the sixth

page, and all the interval is filled with epithets and epithets to these epithets moreover these epithets frequently consist of compounds extending over more than one line, in short Bana's prose is an Indian wood, where all progress is rendered impossible by the undergrowth until the traveller cuts out a path for himself and where, even then, he has to reckon with malicious wild beasts in the shape of unknown words that affright him' ( from Weber's review of Kadambari contributed to the magazine of German Oriental Society in 1853, quoted by Dr Peterson in his Introduction to Kadambari II 37) Macdonell also shows great impatience with Bana's ornate descriptions cp A History of Sanskrit Literature by A A Macdonell pp 332-4 " Thus in twentyfive pages .. and so forth " . Keith has the following remarks to make on Weber's criticism The censure is just, Bana revels in the construsion of sentences consisting of heaped up epithets in compound form, throwing away all the advantages of an inflected language, moreover he loves to pile up in these compounds double meanings, and these he brings about repeatedly by the use of rare senses of ordinary words or the use of utterly abnormal phraseology " But before condemning Bana in the Weberian style, we must remember that an author is to a considerable extent a product of his time Bana lived at a time when the presence of long compounds was considered the very life of prose ( श्रीर ममास-भूयस्त्वमेतद्गद्यस्य जीवितम् ) The Sanskrit Prose Romance had for its sine qua non " a richness of imagery, wealth of description, frequency of rhetorical ornaments, length of compounds and elaboration of sentences, a grandiose pitch of sound and sense " ( De & Dasgupta ) An author was also expected to display his erudition by profuse allusions to mythology, legend, history, geography, literature and the like, some of which allusions would be most recondite too दलेय was expected to be an important hand-maid to वक्त्रचित्पूषे काव्य, अमयकाव्य was also expected to be cp. Dandin's काव्यादर्श II 363 ( दैव मर्मानु पुण्यानि प्रायो वक्त्रचित्पूषे भियम् । मित्र द्विषा स्वभावोक्तिर्वक्त्रचित्पूषे नि वाद्यमयम् ॥ ) The Scholar in a writer got the better of the poet in him, and so we find in such authors a craze of epithets, epithets of epithets, synonymous phrases in different wording, vakroktis and alamkaras of various



types,—all often spun out to such an extent that the author seemed to halt ultimately in sheer exhaustion. And when an author adopts such a style he courts displeasure of the average reader and gets drastic strictures as Bāṇa got from Weber and Co., though ancient critics whose opinion has much pertinency as contemporary verdict, have paid rich encomia to him.

Weber's charge seems justified with reference to those passages where Bāṇa is over-ornate. But there is the other facet of Bāṇa's style where he is charmingly simple. And even in the so called difficult passages one with a good knowledge of Sanskrit and an acquaintance with Bāṇa's conventional ideas, can have a fairly easy journey through the 'wood', with a scratch here and there at the most. And Weber has totally ignored those passages where Bāṇa is a model of best Sanskrit prose e.g. description of Acchoda, Kapikjāla's admonition to Puṇḍarika, Candrapīḍa's consolation of Mahasveta or his argument against अनुमरण and the like. Rightly does Prin Karmarkar observe "There (in such passages) you find the four characteristics of a good prose style,—regularity, uniformity, precision and balance, properly illustrated. The small clauses are nicely balanced even the number of words in them properly regulated, the use of past participles, doing away with the verb altogether, the shifting of the position of the verb, sometimes at the beginning sometimes in the middle and sometimes at the end, the use of simple figures of speech in apt manner, like सहोक्ति, विगेष, आन्तिमान, निदशना, मालोपमा, रत्नोपमा,—these are some of the characteristic of Bāṇa's style. He is, of course, the supreme master of श्लेष and पारिसर्या and in spite of all his love for exaggeration and out of way allusions, Bāṇa displays ample poetic genius capable of attracting a sympathetic student of Sanskrit literature.

A very prominent flaw in Bāṇa's style is that his works abound in too many puns on words, many times intricate, and there are many recondite allusions. These features, used with god's plenty, often smother the original narrative and make his work somewhat दुर्ग्राह्य at places. From the modern angle these features constitute a blemish of style, but in Bāṇa's time these

literary by-ways were called 'वनोचित', and were said to be decorations of poetry. Does not सुवन्तु, for example, boast of his प्रत्यक्षररत्नेषु ?

Another drawback is the tendency to box stories into stories, giving rise to a great complexity of structure to the story, which the reader often finds difficulty to remember coherently. Curious turns of events, and curses and countercurses make the story often very complex, and ornate and spun out descriptions make the progress of the story very halting. Even this is a fault which Bana shares with many Indian authors. "The fact that the greater part of the story is put in the mouth of a parrot is a serious drawback to the verisimilitude of the work", says Mrs Kane. We wonder how far !

But the greatest handicap to Bana's constructive art is his weakness for elaborating the tales, by dwelling on too much details, 'in a style which draws prose and poetry together in an unnatural alliance'. The sense of proportion is the very foundation of style and treatment, and Bana has too prodigal an imagination and too much proneness to descriptions to achieve the proper proportion in his work e.g. the too lavish and fanciful descriptions of Ujjayini, Vindhya, Jabali's hermitage, the temple of Candikā, the night the morning Mahasveta's beauty etc, which give 'wonderful word pictures no doubt, but most of them certainly overdone'. "Bana's power of observation and picturesque description, his love for nature, his eye for colour and ear for music, the richness of his fancy and his wealth of words, are excellences which are unquestioned, but they are seldom kept within moderate bounds. His choice of subject may be good, but his choice of scale is fatal. The readiness of his resources is truly astonishing, but the exaggeration often swamps the reality of his pictures. Sometimes there are absurdities in matters of detail. The young physician रसायन committing suicide on the eve of प्रनावरवर्षण's death seems to be too fanatically sentimental."

Bana can be forcible and direct when he chooses. But pretty often he is tempted to be verbose and then "Bana allows no topic

to pass until he can squeeze no more out of it. Whether in description or in speeches of lamentations and exhortations no possible detail is missed no existing variety of synonymous epithets omitted, no romantic symbolism and conceit overlooked, nor any brilliant rhetoric device ignored. Herein he reminds one of Bhavabhūti who also often describes at length what a Kalidasa may compress in a few words or lines.

One wonders at Baga's literary gifts and still cannot but feel that the Master commits mistakes of excesses in verbosity, abtruseness and descriptive element. It seems strange that one should be capable of denying the splendour of Baga's prose at its best, it is eccentric, excessive and even wasteful, but its organ voice is majestic in movement and magnificent in volume and melody" (D D). Baga's prose is too highflown at many places and his wonderful spell of language and picturesque imagery often smothers the main story or sentiments. But it has made Baga famous for the very extravagant charm of his diction and imagery! Baga has combined in him a rich ornateness of style and rich sensitiveness to tender human emotions. Baga is known for an amazing command over words a beautiful phraseology, rich in imagery and word-music, an extravagance of expressions and ideas often piled up in a single para or even sentence and here and there a beautiful piece of simple yet artistic finish. "Baga's work impresses us by its unfailing and unrestrained wealth of power we have here not an abundance but a riot, a love of all that is grand and glorious in fact or fiction."

Baga has often the habit of repeating himself. Whether in description or narration or conversation Baga would not be satisfied unless he expresses a particular idea with every existing variety of synonyms. Though such passages are an eloquent testimony to the poet's richness of resources and ready wit, they often tire us by their profusion and become a defect.

In longer descriptions especially Baga often displays a lack of sense of proportion. Baga tries to load his descriptions with all sorts of factual details and poetic devices and the reader's patience threatens to perish with what Weber calls an outrageous over-

loading of single words with epithets and epithets to these epithets. So also at times some passages seem to be spun out to an improbable length in a particular situation e. g. Prabhakaravardhana's death-bed advice to his son or Skandagupta's advice to young king Harsha on the evils of too confiding a nature at that critical moment, are inordinately lengthened out and appear improbable and unrealistic. So also in his descriptions of Mahagveta and the temple of Caturdika he tires the reader by dwelling too much on every detail. Often the poet seems to be interested in grand descriptions of morning or evening or of some person or place, leaving the plot to take care of itself.

Another flaw of Bana's writing is the unreality of atmosphere at places. Because Bana's extravagance of style has affected his delineation of characters and sentiments which lack reality occasionally. But in spite of the element of marvel and magic, which was a recognised concomitant of a popular romantic tale, Bana still displays considerable power of characterisation and delineation of sentiments. The scene in Kadambari shifts between the world of fancy in the Gandarvaland beyond Himalayas and the world of humanity in Ujjayini, where king Tarapada and his wise minister Sukanasa, hold court in royal splendour. "The world of fancy is conceived as vividly as the world of humanity, but the whole unreal machinery fades away when we are brought face to face with a tale of human love and sorrow, set forth in its idyllic charm as well as its depth of pathos." (DD)

A Metrical Note — "The number of verses used by Bana is small, though less limited than in the case of सुबन्धु. Bana does not observe the rules laid down by नागह that the वाल्मीकिका should contain at the beginning of each उच्छवान्, वक्त्र and वरर वक्त्र verses, announcing the subject of the chapter. The first Uchchvāsa of the Harakanta has an introduction on poetry; the other have two verses, but the form is either two वक्त्राः or a श्लोक and an वक्त्र. In the body of the chapters we have an वक्त्रवक्त्र in i, three stanzas, वक्त्रवक्त्रा, गान्धर्वीकीर्ति and वक्त्रवक्त्र in ii, two pairs, वक्त्रा and वक्त्रा in iii, a pair of वक्त्रा, वक्त्र and वक्त्रवक्त्र and a detached वक्त्रा in iv, a श्लोक and an वक्त्रवक्त्र in v, a d and

आर्या in vi the last two have no inserted verses. The वक्त्र of वाण is not the श्लोक as in metrical textbooks, but a sort of श्लोक with a spondee at the close of even lines. The Kadambari after its verse prelude in वक्त्रस्य metre is essentially in prose. (Keith slightly adapted)

**Bāṇa's literary views** —Bāṇa had some specific views about literature and poets and he has presented them at places in the introductory verses to his Harṣacarita and Kadambari and also in some occasional references in these works. Bāṇa has laid a fundamental norm about really great poetry viz that it should be creative. Only a poet who is 'उत्पादक', who has something new to say is a great poet, the innumerable poetasters (जातिभाज) who produce trite poetry with too commonplace स्वभावोक्ति are poets only in name, not in fact. Unless the poet has something novel or original to say and unless he presents it in a poetic way, he has no claim to कवित्व. Obviously Bāṇa wants that poetry should have वक्त्रोक्ति as a soul of poetic style. Bāṇa does not vote against स्वभावोक्ति per se, he would admit स्वभावोक्ति which conveys things with striking charm (अग्रम्या जाति) : c Bāṇa admits स्वभावोक्ति as one of the अलङ्कारः.

Bāṇa has noted the regional peculiarities of poetry in his days cp श्लेषप्राप्तमुदीच्येपु प्रनीच्येपु अर्थमात्रकम् । उ प्रेक्षा दाक्षिणात्यपु गौडैत्वश रङ्गम्वरम् ॥ (हर्ष Int V 7) But Bāṇa wanted a समन्वय of all necessary elements of poetry to make the really best poetry. Acc to him the following constitute the essentials of poetry, which as he also observes, are rarely to be found together. अयोध्या जातिरग्रम्या श्लेषोऽविलष्ट भृगुः रसः । विकटाश्रयः शब्द वृत्तनेकेन दुर्गरम् ॥—ह Intro V 8 Bāṇa has tried to live up to this norm in his own compositions.

Being a prose writer, he has some specific views on the requirements of the good prose style. Thus he has remarked in Kadambari (p 90) that 'उत्कृष्टकविपद्य (इन) विविधवर्णधेनिप्रतिपाद्यमानतभिन्नावयवसञ्चयम् (राजकुलम्)'. Wherein he emphasizes both the sound and sense aspects. In Kadambari (Intro vv 7-9) also he has given his idea about a कथा (cp मयापि न विविधमग्रे गलात्

दुजनस्याकरिपारिवामृतम् । तदेव धत्ते हृदयेन सज्जना हरिमहारत्नमिवाति  
निर्मलम् ॥ स्फुरत्कललपविलासकोमला कराति राम हाद कौतुकाधिकम् ।  
रताग शय्या स्वयमभ्युपागता कथा जनस्यान्विता बवूरिव ॥ हरन्ति क नोऽवल-  
दीपकोपमनं वै पदार्यस्पषादिता कथा । निरन्तरस्लेषघना सुजातयो महासजश्च-  
म्पककुहमलैरिव ॥)

Baṇa has severely condemned the plagiarists in his introductory  
verses to Harṣacarita, but he has not criticized anyone by name  
But when Baṇa has praised some eminent predecessors of his and  
some literary masterpieces known to him, he has named them,  
bestowed an unstinted meed of praise to them This shows बाण's  
excellent manners.

Baṇabhaṭṭa's learning — Baṇa was a very learned person  
He personally testifies to this cp सम्बन्ध पठित साङ्गो वेद । यत्तानि  
यथाशक्ति शास्त्राणि—Harṣa III and his Harṣacanta and Kadambari  
are monumental standing evidence thereof We find therein his  
varied learning which shows his acquaintance with (1) Śrutis,  
Śmṛtis and Vedāṅgas (2) The different darśanas (3) The Rāmāyaṇa,  
the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas (4) Indian mythology in general  
and (5) Several other miscellaneous lore We now present a  
fairly detailed evidence thereof —

(1) References to Śrutis, Śmṛtis and Vedāṅgas — (a)  
शिष्यद्वयेनेव पञ्चममुखरेण—हृ p 12 (b) Reference to जघमपण—हृ  
p 22 का p 133 (c) व्याकरणमिव प्रथममध्यमोत्तमपुरुषविभक्तिस्थितानेका  
देशकारकाख्यातसंप्रदानक्रियाव्ययप्रपञ्चसुस्थितम्—का p 90 (d) ज्योतिष  
मिव गृहभोक्तकलाभागनिपुणम्—का p 91 (e) दीप्तिवाचमिवाप्राकृतम् ।  
—का p 131 (f) अस्मत्पदद्वैतिमिवाह द्वाभ—का p 131 (g)  
आर्यामिव समुपात्तयतिषणोचितमानाम्—का p 131

(2) References to Darśanas —(a) साख्यमिव वपिलाधिष्ठितम्—  
का p 40 (b) साख्यागमेनैव प्रधानपुरुषोपदेन—का p 51 (c) अस्तत्तावन्-  
मिवावृत्तात्तम्—का p 124 (d) भोषासद्वेद्यानकभावनानुविद्धा—का  
p 131 (e) Baṇa has referred to Gāṇānyam, Chāṇasyan, Māgadhika, etc  
etc from the योग्य स्व at various places (f) Reference to दयमान in  
" भारवमध्यनामवभनेमुनतानुयातमपवणमागमिव हारमद्वहती । ' — हृ p 12

### (3) References to Ramayana, Mahābhārata and Purāṇas:—

- (a) दशरथ इष्टरामो-भातेन मृत्युमवाप—ह. p. 145-6 (b) सागर इव सागर-प्रमादान्—ह. p. 196 (c) रामायणमिव पवित्रयाममाकुलम्—वा. p. 91 (d) The entire para 19 on pp. 21-22 of Kadambari bristles with Ramayana references. (e) राघवगणप्रहारजर्जरितजीर्णतालतरंगण्डय च समीपे—वा. p. 23 (f) अनवरतसरनिरन्तरपिरामनिहतम्वरदूषणबलनिबहमिव—वा. p. 29 (g) रामानुगमो रामायणेन न योवनेन—वा. p. 41 (h) Har. intro. v. 3 refers to व्यास and his भारत. (i) Har. intro. v. 9 refers to भारतीय कथा. (j) दत्तचैव पाण्डुपुत्राणां गतया धर्ममोक्षरम्—Har. intro. v. 11 (k) महाभारतमादिशारमानः—हर्ष. p. 142 (l) कस्य न द्वितीयमहाभारते भवेदस्य चरिते मुमुक्षुम्—ह. p. 149 (m) विविध-वीररसद्वलान्तरामणीयैरेन महाभारतं सचयन्निव—ह. p. 326 (n) यत्र च महाभारते साकुनियम्—वा. p. 41 (o) महाभारतमिदमनन्तलोकाकर्मनानन्दित-मरम्—वा. p. 90 (p) अवरिमिनत्रकभरान्ता मय्ये स्मरति महाभारतसमर-गणोमहत्यां स्थिति—वा. p. 118 (q) भारतमिव पाण्डुधृतराष्ट्रकुलरक्षक-धौमम्—वा. p. 113 (r) सर्वमदगलमहोषमि महाभारते दत्तावधानाम्—का. p. 209 (s) महाभारतपुराणरामायणानुरागिणा—वा. p. 51 (t) हरिवंश-वधेवानेकबालश्रीहारमगीया—वा. p. 52 (u) कृष्णबालचरितमिव तटकदम्ब-शास्त्राधिकृतहरिकृष्णजन्मप्रपातश्रीदम्—का. p. 123 (v) पुराणे यापुप्रलम्बितम्—वा. p. 41 (w) एवमानप्रोक्त पुराणं वषाठ—ह. p. 140 (x) पुराणमिव-यथाविभागवत्स्वापितललक्ष्म्याकीशम्—वा. p. 90

### (4) References to Indian Mythology in general — (a)

- व्यङ्ग्यनृगतरा . स्वामी—ह. p. 86 (b) नास्य हरेरिव .. शिव—ह. p. 126 (c) तात धाण .. उन्मृष्टवान्—ह. pp. 143-7 (d) अत्र बलविता .. महासमा-रम्भा—ह. pp. 147-9 (e) युद्धवचमि .. प्रजाकर्मणि—ह. p. 163 (f) लोकत्रय .. भरतेन—ह. p. 307 (g) आसन्नवर्तिना .. स्त्रीराज्यम्—ह. pp. 371-2 (h) अग्निदापात् .. परिवृत्तिः—का. p. 13 (i) पुरा चण्डकौशिक ... चतुरः पुत्रान्—वा. p. 62 (j) पुरा किल ... उवाच—का. p. 80 (k) दशरथ . प्रतिमा—वा. p. 117 (l) स्मर तावत् ... जीविताः—का. p. 174 (m) विश्वायसुना . आनीतयान्—वा. p. 175 (n) जानकीव .. एति—वा. 256 { These are just some select passages, Bapu's extensive and deep knowledge of Indian mythology is seen practically on every page of his work

## (5) Miscellaneous References to other lores — (a) Bana's

acquaintance with अलङ्कारशास्त्र would be clear from our discussion about Bana's literary views elsewhere in this chapter (b) वाच्य-  
गाढवाच्यायिकाश्चव्याख्यानादिनियानिपुण — का p 7 (c) reference to

वर्णोद्भूतकथा — का p 19 (d) उदयनमिव अभिनन्तिवरसकुलम् — क p 40

(e) मिथिनाशोपदग्धं यत्र वक्त्रादिनिपुणनाट्यादिव्याख्यानपरिचयचतुरेण सवलि-  
पिनन महाभारतपुराणरामायणानुशासिता बृहत्संयानुशासन — क p 51 (f)

फलितगवितश्रेय बीतिशास्त्रविप्रवृद्धि अधीतघमशास्त्र — क p 53 (g)

— Reference to कोस (अस्य घृ' २) and वीचिनरवजातकानि H pp 414-415

(h) Reference to Buddhism and Jainism बौद्धमत जीवानुकम्पिना —  
K p 51 (i) Reference to वाच्यगाढी परिहासकथा (light talk) विदु-

— मती, प्रहलिका नरपतिवृत्तकाव्यमुभापितानि, द्विपदी and अविणय — K p 88

(j) नरयाहूनदत्तपरितमिवाण स्वर्षितश्रेयस्य नराजशरिवाधवन्तीत्पठन —  
K p 91 (k) नागदीपमिषाण्यमनराजधमम् — K p 91 (l) वीटिन्याशास्त्रम्

— K p 109 (m) वैद्वद्विदिव निालम्बनाम् — क p 131 (n)

लोकायतविद्ययाधमरच — क p 140 (o) References to दगास्तान,  
कुहपत्तत्रमत्रपरितवा and महाकालम्, which seem to be some religious

tracts — K pp 226 7 [ p] K p 297 8 Tarapita's speech at Candra-  
pida's departure shows Bhurara's proficiency in अयत्तम् (g) क p

347 'श्रुती जीवतीति' shows Bhāsara's erudition ]

**Bana's Religion :** Banabhatta was a devotee of Śiva

as can be seen very clearly from his works. But at the same time

we find that he was no bigot he was rather a person like Kalidasa

who believed in 'Unity in Trinity, (of Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva),

and yet had a special affinity for Śiva as also Pārvatī. We may

describe him in other words as a Vedāntin in principles and

Śivabhakta in practice. We enumerate the references which show

his religious inclinations —

(a) Bana a Śiva devotee — (i) vv. 1-2 from ह्यचरितं Intro-

verses salute इशम् and उमा respectively. (ii) Savitṛ advised

Sarasvatī to propitiate lord Śiva when she was cursed by Durva-

śas (cp. 'यत्नं दत्तवा पाद्यं प्रमत्ति प्रतिपद्यत्य मन्त्रा वापा नियमा च

द्वन्द्वं त्रिभुवनं ह्यम्बवम् । अथायत्नं कान्तं स तं तपसाऽद्विगति

विनिरिच्छति' इति । p 23) (iii) There is reference to 'मिथिविरचित



चालुक्यलिङ्गस at हर्ष. p 30 (iv) Sarasvati, residing on the western bank of S'oga, worships the eight divine forms of lord S'iva by offering अष्टपुष्पिका ( cp. पुलिनपृष्ठ... अष्टपुष्पिकामदात् । )—हर्ष p. 30 ). (v) When Bāṇa received the message from Kṛṣṇa to come to Harṣa's court, he was hesitant for a while; but ultimately decided to go relying on S'iva's favour ( cp. सर्वथा भगवान् भवानीपतिर्भुवन-पतिर्गंतस्य मे शरणम् ।—हर्ष p. 90 ). (vi) And while proceeding on that journey he worshipped S'iva ( देवदेवस्य विहृपाक्षस्य... विधाप परमया भक्त्या पूजाम्—ह p 90 ) (vii) While describing पुष्पभूति's शिवभक्ति, Bāṇa has praised S'iva in highly eulogistic terms cp यत्तस्तस्य ...पद्मपति प्रपन्नोऽन्यदेवतान्यममन्यत त्रैलोक्यम् --ह p. 164 (viii) When हर्ष's march is described at the beginning of Uc. VII, Harṣa is described as worshipping S'iva then cp. विरचय्य परमया भक्त्या भगवतो नीललोहितस्यार्चाम् ।—ह p 350 (ix) King Bhāskaravarman is described at Harṣa Uc VII (p. 383) where it is said about him: अयमस्य च शैश-वादारभ्य सकल्प. स्थेयान्स्थानुपादारविन्दद्वयादृते नाहमन्य नमस्कुर्वामिति । (x) Harṣa's appreciative remark about Bhāskaravarman's S'ivabhakti shows Harṣa's devotion to S'iva ( रक्ष बाहुधाली मयि च रामालम्बित-शरासने सुहृदि हरादृते कमन्य नम-यति ।—ह p 385 ) (xi) In Kādambari introductory verse 2 Bāṇa pays homage to S'iva (xii) King S'ūdraka also worshipped S'iva ( cp उपरचितपद्मपतिपूजनः—K p 16 ). (xiii) Mahākālā of Ujjayini is described as भुवनत्रयसर्गश्रितिसहारकारिन् ( K. p. 50 ). (xiv) Mahākālā is described with great reverence in the उज्जयिनीवर्णन ( cy. यस्या सुरासुर... स्वय निवसति—K. p. 53 ). (xv) Mahāśvetā is described as a great devotee of S'iva cp. अत्रासीत्... भगवन्त त्र्यम्बकम् । ( K. p 128 ) (xvi) When महाश्वेता as a young girl had come for a bath to Acchoda she saluted S'iva images ( cp. अत्र च स्नानार्थं... यन्वमाना—K. p 138 ). (xvii) Mahāśvetā in her distress sought resorts with S'iva ( देव त्रैलोक्यनाथ... स्थापुमाश्रिता—K. p 172 ) (xviii) Candrapīḍa, when he visited गन्धर्वलोक, had worshipped S'iva there ( cp अत्र कुसुमघृतिसिक्तितिले गिरिनदिकातटे भगवानचित्र मूलपति ।—K. p 213 ) (xix) King तारापीड is called परमसाहेस्वरः ( K p 221 ) ( Even Bhāṣya seems to in- here his father's शिवभक्ति, for he salutes गिरिमुतापरमेस्वरो in Kad- Uttarabhāga Intro v. 1; and makes Vahampayana also a devotee of S'iva cp. “ प्रणम्य.. भगवन्त भवानीप्रभु महेश्वर दशदिग्दशवल-शेखर व्रजाम् ।—K. p 276

(b) Bana's Vedantic bent — (i) In Kadambari intro v 1 Bana speaks of Unity in Trinity (ii) Jabali's asrama is said to be 'वर्चमानहरिहरपितामह' (K p 40)

(c) Some miscellaneous references showing Bana's broad religious sympathies (i) There is a reference to 'सर्वविद्यासिद्धिविघ्नविनायक' at ह pp 171 2 (ii) The Assam king's दैत्यवध is referred to with admiration at ह p 386 (iii) दिवाकरमित्र is described as 'परममौलतमपि अथलोकितेस्वरम्' (ह p 416) (iv) Bana's high regard for Buddhism is shown by the following passage in Uc VIII "मगध ! सर्वमरुधानुक्मिनी वचमाम ।" (हप pp 428 9) and "मम हि गुरु आरोपयिष्यति ।" (हप p 430) (v) Kadambari intro v 3 pays homage to Visnu (Bhusanabana in Kad Uttara intro v 2 salutes Narayana)

Epilogue — When we read Bana's works and turn over the last page, the impression we carry is of having met a master mind of literary art. His absolute mastery over Sanskrit language, his rich variety of style, his fine delineation of the whole gamut of sentiments ranging from वृद्धगार, वीर and वरुण to वीभरत, जदभुत and शान्त (to mention some at random), and his power of making a character, scene or situation to live as if before our mind leaves us spellbound. We gladly concede that Bana really in a "वश्य-वाणीविचित्रवर्णिनः" Defects no doubt he has—for who is free from them?—but they appear to us to be due to his times rather than an inherent fault in his muse and before the full splendour of the glory of his all sided genius, they become comparable to the spots on the sun (G). We have often felt that with Kalidasa and Sankara Bana makes the Trimurti of Sanskrit Literature

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## CHAPTER VIII SOCIETY IN BĀNABHATTA'S WORKS

‘वाच्य व्यवहारविदे’

—सम्प्रदाय

• **Introductory** —When we try to get a picture of contemporary life from literary works, we cannot expect to get a detailed co-ordinated account of the social facts by the very nature of things. For in literary works the author's main objective is to unfold his literary art and references to social life are only made incidentally. We have to piece together such references and details to get a social account. Further in literary works—and specially so in case of Sanskrit literary works—fact is freely mixed with the fictitious, the fanciful and the supernatural. So we have to sift the evidence carefully and choose only that which appears to be historically and factually sound. But if we proceed on these lines with due caution, we do generally get a fair idea of the social background of a work, because after all the life around an author enters in many ways in the life of make belief which he tries to project in his work. We shall now try to have a pen picture of the society in which Bana seems to have lived and moved about basing our conclusions on the material furnished by his works.

**The people and their professions** — The people in general belonged to the Aryan stock. They were fair in complexion had big eyes, rich hair, equiline noses, broad foreheads and chests and muscular arms and thighs. [cp आयतलोचनम् (का p २०) वायतललाटः (इ p ७४) उन्नतघोषिणम् (का p १९)] The aboriginal tribes like the Bhils and others had a different appearance being possessed of dark eyebrows, redish eyes, flat noses, broad lips and chins, prominent cheek bones and well formed bodies. The lower class of people seemed to be mainly coming from Dravida and Sinhala countries [cp the description of Tarapila's servants आ प्रद्विडमिहलप्रमण (सेवकजनैः) — का p 88] and these were generally engaged in menial service.

There were four castes in the society they were based on criterion of birth. The Brahmins had a superior social status and

Brahmin was expected to be revered for his birth whatever his qualifications and abilities [ cp अमस्तु न मनयोऽपि जन्मैव द्विजमानो जननीया ।— ह p ११, also cp ह p ११३ where पुष्पभृति gets off a wicked Naga because he was Brahmin ] But it should be noted also that there were several Brahmins like the Vatsyayanas, who were sages of high eminence, religious, dutiful, straightforward and never caring for worldly glory [ cp ह pp ३९४० for the description of the Vatsyayanas ] Bana, while describing his cousins, houses (Uc II Para I ) gives a graphic picture of typical houses of the क्षत्रियs and their surroundings. So also when Bana gives a spirited rejoinder in self-defence to Emperor Harsa who at the first interview, first twitted Bana, gives in the that rejoinder many Brahmanic and scholarly qualifications of his, which deserved a better treatment (cp राज्ञागस्मि जज्ञ अम्यागारि जगन्मि । लोचदया . अनवरापोऽस्मि ।—ह II ) Further when Bana returns from Harsa's court, he questions his kinsmen about matters that were vital to the Brahmins of his days viz the performance of sacrifices, the incessant study of the Vedas the grammar, logic, the मीमांसा and poetry The caste system was rigid, and Brahmins did not take food at the house of the other three varnas [ cp ह p 63 'वर्णत्रयव्यवृत्तिरिगृह्यतामस' ] The diksitas would avoid prakrit speech [ cp वा p 131 'दीनिशवाचमिवाप्राहृतम् ] Brahmin priests were invited at religious and household ceremonies. The performance of animal sacrifices was fairly common. [ cp नीलकण्ठमरच्छाशावक्रप्रवृत्तिपुत्रप्रवचयानि ( अवतानि)— ह pp. 72 73 ] Marriage rules generally were strictly for marriages in the same community, But अनुलाम marriages seemed to be in vogue Bana speaks of पाराव ब्राह्मणs as his cousins (uncle's sons, born of Sudra wife and hence पाराजव.) [ cp ह ४१ 'भ्रातरी शिरसा च दसनमातृप्रेणी We wonder whether they were cousins of Bana as Mm Kane and others take them to be, or step brothers of Bana Bana has specifically mentioned his mother राजदेवी to be ब्राह्मणी so perhaps his father had some गूढा wife too ' ] A प्रतिशोभ marriage, however, with a Brahmana as a party, was held to be sinful [ cp ह p ८८ where ययाति is said to have become पारायज्ञ because he married दयानी, a ब्राह्मणी ] Brahmins who became converts to other faiths were called पारासरिः A Brahmin-

killer had to undergo a very serious expiation [ cp ह p २२२  
 'ब्रह्मघ्न इव प्रतिदिवसबन्धनोद्घृष्टशिर कपालस्य । ]

Though Royalty was often connected with Ksatriyahood, it was not an invariable order of the day Emperor Harṣa, according to C V Vaidya and Hiuen Tsang, was a Vaiśya (though others have contested this view) Ksatriyas were known by their वश or by गोत्रः Polygamy, which was commonly seen amongst people then, was more so in royalty The favourite game of royalty was hunting and Candrapida and Harṣavardhana are both described as enjoying hunting expeditions

The caste of Vaiśyas was generally a trading caste, though they occasionally distinguished themselves in other fields as well The term शूद्र mainly indicated the aboriginals like the Bhils etc We have reference to Siṃhalas, Dravidas etc who were mainly employed in menial jobs The Śūdras were generally busy with agriculture and menial service There were several subcastes also, caused by intercaste marriages

Though चतुर्वर्ण्य was the basis of social structure, the occupations of people were varied and they occasionally were taken to without a particular caste label In a growing social order and advancing civilisation variety of occupations was just a logical outcome [ cp the description of a village at हर्ष pp ९४-९७ and description of Baṇa's companions at हर्ष pp ४१-४२ to get an idea about the variety of professions ] With that was also generally waning the class-consciousness though the caste system was existing Besides the wide variety of professions, high and low we have Buddhist and Jain monks and nuns, doing the work of . . . . . of religion We have . . . . . so called magic and . . . . . tion of the old द्रविड धार्मिक in कादम्बरी amply shows how he was deceived by various ascetics with nice promises of securing of ample wealth and a charming bride by some magical means "

It seems that there was continuous warfare going on in these days, and this made the social life far from stable and prosperous

on the whole. Harṣa was engaged in warfare for nearly thirty years. Candrapida embarked on दिविजय to establish his suzerainty. It seems that royalty delighted in asserting and parading supremacy by power of arms. And when a great king would pass away the empire often started to crumble and crash.

Brahmins generally lived up by the profession of priesthood and teaching. The other communities had their usual professions, and further, as said above, a wide variety of professions had grown. The list of Bana's companions in his young journeys shows "what strange medley of people an orthodox Brahmana could associate without running any serious risk of losing caste or position."

Bana refers to Natakas Nata's, [cp ह p 19 reference to नैट्य] dancers directors of dramas [cp ह p 434 reference to नाटकसूत्रधारी]. We cannot say for certain whether well formed dramatic companies were then in vogue. It seems that in Bana's days, dancing was popularly represented on the stage and not the plays, which were probably displayed on occasions like Yatras ■ Bhavabhuti indicates. But we should note that Natas were not looked upon with much respect in Bana's days while the catholic Bhavabhuti has no scruples in being on intimate friendly terms with the actors. There were गमपटिक्स also in Bana's days, who would present on picture screens the happenings in Yama's kingdom.

**Social Customs and Manners**—From occasional references we can get some idea about the code of customs and manners of that age. It seems girls had a fair amount of education and a fair measure of freedom of movement as could be seen from the prevalence of Gandharva marriage. The reference in Harṣa's Nagananda viz 'निर्दोषदत्ता मलु कयका' reflects the same fact. Friends and well wishers generally served as useful and helpful mediators ■ छ. माविकी to सरस्वती in हयचरित, or कविजगज् to महा इवना in कदम्बरी. But we also find that sensible girls like सरस्वती, महादेवी or कदम्बरी took care to see that they choose a good person before falling head over heels in love with him.

Hosts were expected to be respectful towards guests, and formalities of speech and reception were meticulously observed e.g. the conversation of गावित्री, सरस्वती, दधीच and विदुषि in the हृषीकेश, or that between चन्द्रापीड and महादेवा, or the address of महादेवा to Candrapida and the latter's reply thereto. Women were treated with great courtesy. Respect was shown to great and elderly persons e.g. Candrapida going to see Sukanasa sat on the ground [cp वा p. १८९ "चन्द्रापीड. शिवितल एव" and वा p. १९४ "अग्राय रत्नामन अवनीवक समुपा०"]

The clothing of men and women seems to be made up of two pieces of cloth. No tailoring seems to have been in vogue. The upper garment (उत्तरीय) was merely kept hanging on the body, while the lower one seems to have been tied with some knot. The garments of men were generally white, those of ladies were generally coloured. Ladies seem to have an अयोवसन (हुकुलवस्त्र), a bodice with a knot between breasts (रत्नमध्यवन्धनात्रिकाग्रन्थि) and an उत्तरीय worn across the body (वैद्यक) [cp ह p. 34]. Women seem to be using a veil occasionally (e.g. Candalakanya in the royal court and Rajyagri at the time of her marriage, had veils). Men used to wear turbans or some other type of head-dress. Widows wore white clothes. Buddhist monks red and Jain monks yellow. The hair of men generally hung loose, at times it was tied in some head knot. In case of women, ladies had बर्णों and widows एकवर्णी. Flowers and sprouts as decorations, as also gold and jewelled ornaments were used by ladies, men occasionally used some ornaments. Women applied अलका to their feet. Sandal paste was used both by men and women. Bards, Bhils, etc. had their specialised type of dress.

The family life was very cordial in general. And there are descriptions of many a happy household in Bha's works. A mother had great affection for her children e.g. विद्यासवती's affection for चन्द्रापीड or यशोमती's affection for हर्षदर्शन. But a woman loved her husband more than her child. The husband was the ruler of the household but generally consulted his better half in family-affairs e.g. प्रभाकरदेवन consulted यशोमती before राजश्री's marriage. Relations between a husband and wife were generally very cordial,

the influence of evil spirits (5) The birth of a male child was highly welcome that of a daughter was an occasion for sorrow (6) There was the worship of *पुत्रोदर* on the sixth day after child-birth. The father could see the new born child after this worship (7) The naming of the child was done on the tenth day [cp *वृ* p 137 'अथापो दत्तम अर्चति'] (8) A boy was sent to *गुरुगृह* in the sixth year after ceremonials like *पुत्रोदर* had been performed, and returned after ten to twelve years (9) *वाय* and *गान्धर्व* forms of marriage were in vogue. The girls were fairly grown up at the time of marriage. (10) The hand of a grown-up girl was asked for by a suitor, and the girl's father would consent if he so liked. He consulted his family members too. (11) The marriage ceremony was performed on an auspicious day at an auspicious moment at the bride's house. Detailed ceremonials were gone through. There was considerable rejoicing & frolic. The consummation of the marriage was on the same day, this would indicate that the brides were fairly grown up. (12) Child marriages were not in vogue, nor widow remarriages. Widows were expected to lead a secluded and religious life and occasionally they committed *सती* (13) The custom of self immolation or *सती* by ladies was occasionally practised by ladies on the death of their husbands and on rare occasions (as in the case of *मनोमती*) even before the death of the husband. It was supposed to be a glorious thing. Both *Mahasveta* and *Kadambari* wanted to commit *अनुमरण*, but were warded off from that by divine agencies, because of the would be reunion in either case. Even *रसायन* the young and learned physician in waiting on *प्रभाकरवर्मन* preferred death to informing him of the impending end of his father. Widows who did not commit *Sati* were expected to lead a religious life. The enlightened opinion of the day was of course against the institution of *सती*, as one can see from *चन्द्रापीड*'s arguments against that system, in his address to *महाश्वेता*. That passage shows that *Bhaga* himself was obviously a great social reformer and he has in that passage put a spirited argument against *अनुमरण* in his *Kadambari*. He seems to be the mouthpiece of a new rationalistic view taking shape in the mind of young elite. (14) The rites to be performed after death were practically the same as obtaining at present. After the



period of impurity, the personal effects of the dead were given in charity; the bones of the dead were taken to a holy place; a cow was given occasionally to a Brahmin as a gift. In case of eminent people, the departed were often commemorated by erecting a monument or building a *gumasti*, or by the composition of a poetic elegy ( *कविहस्तिक* ). At one place Bāṇa has described monuments to dead heroes as जननिवृत्तमनसोऽस्मिन्मोदितवृत्तवर्तिनीरपुरप्रातस्त्यान's- (15) There were some rites to be performed when a person would embark on an important journey. [cp. *ह.* pp. ५६-५७; २०२-२०४.]

Some miscellaneous points are: (i) At times of eclipses, people fasted. [cp. *ह.* p. 29 "पर्यन्त... उपवासाम्."] (ii) At the time of receptions, floral arches were raised. [cp. *ह.* p. 51 "वस्यापि पुष्पवनः हृदयप्रवेगमात्रि कामिव रक्षा धारयन्ती।"] (iii) On occasions of joy and festivity people, men and women, young and old, mixed freely; and enjoyed song and dance. (iv) The description of the rites performed when *brāhmarakṣya* was on death-bed, though some what weird, shows us what popular Hindu religious practices and observances were in the 7th Cent. A. D.

**Sports and Amusements:**—Among social entertainments and sports the more important were *dancing, singing, animal fights and bird-fights*. [cp. K. 89 "आयदमेपुत्रवृत्तपुररविञ्जललावकपतिक्रायुद्धम्"] On the fights of animals or birds, there was an occasional resort to betting. The main sport of royalty was hunting. [cp. *Kādambari* pp. ५६-५९; pp. १९९-२००]. Gambling was considered as an art and pastime and there are profuse references to it. [cp. K. p. १५६ 'सर्वाम् घृतकलाम्' K. p. १०६ "घृतादिबलाबलापारखेप... जनेन"; K. p. 131 "घृतकलाकुशलामिव बर्हि वृतासहृदयाम्"]. *घृतस्यान* is referred to in *Harṣacarita*. [cp. *ह.* p. 159]. Kings were expected to be proficient in gambling. [cp. K. p. १८० "दुरोधरमीदामन्वस्यता... सामन्तलोकेन"] The game of chess was also popular. [cp. for references to *अष्टाषट्* *ह.* p. 14, 127, ७८ (*अष्टाषट्पदानां चतुरङ्गवत्सवा*)]. Mm. Kane thinks that a game '*caturāṅga*' is referred to, corresponding to Marathi '*मोंगट्या*'. Gambling, however, was not respected in society. There were also intellectual pastimes "like reciting stanzas, finding out missing words, supplying lines of stanza

etc" (अक्षरच्युतक मानाच्युतक, विन्दुमती, प्रहेलिता and the like) [cp का pp १८०-१८१]

**City Life and the Country Life.**— The typical description of the city of Ujjayini shows broadly how the city-life of Bana's days was. The cities were surrounded by walls and trenches, they had suburbs, parks, rest houses drinking places and halls. The people in general were fairly prosperous, fair in appearance given to various worldly pursuits, cultured and educated [cp K p 51 "शिक्षिताशेषदेशभाषेण सुभाषितव्यसनिना" &c] Bana's हर्षचरित gives a description of Bana's wanderings over the whole of स्याण्वीश्वर and beyond. We find therein cross-sections of a varied society, plying various professions and trade.

The village people were more unsophisticated, and more orthodox in religious matters. Agriculture was the main profession, and rice was the main crop. Other crops also were numerous e.g. godhūma (wheat), mudga (kidney bean), Jiraka (cumin seed), Rajamāsa, sugarcane, grapes and the like. Coconuts pomegranates, dates etc. were also planted. The land was fertile. The device of waterwheel was widely used. Vegetables too were grown in abundance. The cattlewealth consisted of cows and bulls buffalos, rams, horses, mares, camels, etc. There were lakes and water reservoirs here and there. One could also see scarecrows popping up [cp मृगभयकृततृणपुरुषकै—K p 274]. On the whole villages had a sort of snug peaceful life and people were healthy and contented.

The forest life was a harder life. The foresters lived in huts and subsisted by hunting, wild produce and elementary agriculture with spades (and not ploughs) [cp "कुहार्प्रायद्विपिनि" ■ p २२]. Some foresters used to collect honey, various types of fruits, feathers of birds etc. and to sell these things in cities or villages nearby. Their clothings was generally fashioned out of bark-garments. Their goddess was Camunda or Candika and they offered 'वलि' in her honour [cp Reference to चण्डिकावलि offered by foresters at का p 30]. There are several passages where Bana gives graphic description of forest life [cp हर्ष pp २२७-२०, का]

pp. ३९ & ४०, pp २४१-४५, pp 354-5 pp ४१७-२६.] One curious reference by Bhūṣaṇa Bāṇa to a वनमानुषी. [ cp. K p. 316 ]

There were many hermitages in forests where hermits led a pious, holy and quiet life [For descriptions of hermitages cp. ह pp ४४-६, का pp ७९-८२] The young boys there were educated in various branches of Vedic lore. Many sages lived the lives of householders in the tranquillity of these hermitages, which they liked for their quietitude and simplicity, and where penances and meditation could be pursued without obstruction. The life in hermitages was generally self sufficient and self dependent, the basic amenities of life like food, water, shelter and clothing were managed with local resources in the तपोवन.

**Learning and Literature:**—Education was fairly common and widespread. The आश्रम or गुरुकुल were the seats of learning, where the young boys went to receive education. Some might have received education at home. Bāṇa seems to have learnt partly at his home, known for erudite traditions, and partly at the feet of Bharva. Candrapīḍa was educated at a special विद्यामन्दिर built for his sake, where a highly qualified staff was engaged to educate the prince. Candrapīḍa went to the विद्यामन्दिर at the age of six and returned at sixteen. Tarapīḍa obviously believed in a Gurukula discipline. Otherwise he could have asked the Pandits to train Candrapīḍa at the palace only. The curriculum seems to consist of Vedic lore in various branches and various other arts and sciences current in that age. [K p. 75 para 71 gives a list of the literary and artistic curriculum for education of a prince while the description of the parrot विदित . मित्र on K p 12 represents the expected intellectual attainments of a well-educated person.] There must have existed Gurukula type of Universities like Nalanda and Takṣaśīla, as references by Bāṇa seem to indicate. [ cp. References to गुरुकुल at ह p. 69 & p 159 ]

Learning in ordinary villages and small towns was probably connected with श्रुति and स्मृति and ritual they enjoined. यज्ञविद्या, व्याकरण, नर्क, मोमाता etc were also studied at these places, which

also must have boasted of some learned scholars in these branches. But there were also persons interested in subjects of a secular character and connected more with art and artistic tendencies

Among the arts cultivated by people Music seems to be the most prominent. "It was almost the only art in which people of all vocations took an interest." There are words like गीतकला [cp का p ३७६] गन्धर्वशास्त्र [cp का p. १५६] बान्धर्ववेद [cp का p १२६] गीतयुक्ति [cp का २६ ह p ८६] etc which show how music was cultivated both as a science and an art. In one passage in Kādambarī, various musical instruments are referred to [cp. "अनेकप्रहृत. ध्वनि का p 16] We find technical references to सवादी and विसवादी स्वरः, [cp ह p ८६] ताल and लय, [cp. ह. p. १२१] तान and समा etc [cp ह p १२१]. Among musical instruments mentioned are आलिङ्गक (a small drum), flutes, cymbals (झल्लरी), अलाबुकीणा (gourd lute), काह्ला (a musical instrument), पाणविक (a labor), विरञ्जीबास (a kind of lute) and मुरज.

"Dancing was usually accompanied by music and it was considered as an independent art and science. [cp K p. १५६ ह p १२१] It was practised as a profession mainly by the class of courtesans, though it was learnt and taught in respectable families." The art seems to have been learnt both by women and men. The dance was generally accompanied by a musical orchestra, and at times by vocal music. The dramatic art also was known.

"Painting and sculpture also appear to be pretty commonly pursued arts. In the description of Ujjayini, picture-galleries have been mentioned. Occasionally there are references to शालभञ्जिकाः or dolls or statues. The existence of पुस्तकृत [cp ह. p 127] and दाहकर्म [a model maker, would also indicate the development of sculpture. Citrakarman or painting is described as one of the arts like music to be learnt by a man who seeks to be versatile. Besides these there were a number of other arts which were considered as essential for making a man versatile. They are तकुनिस्त्वज्ञान, यन्त्रप्रयोग, तुरगवयो-

ज्ञान, पुष्पलक्षण, रतितुल्य etc". We find in this way that the people in those days had an interest in several arts. [cp K p 196 "चन्द्रापीडो . बगवत wherein we find reference to some arts and games of that time. So also at K pp 199-200 "तानि . आनाचके" we have references to some pastimes . At K p 149, 199 we have references to इन्द्रजालिकपिच्छिका At K. p 91 we have reference to गान्धर्वभवन, ताम्बूलिकभवन and सद्गोत्रभवन].

aBṛā's age viz. the reign of Harṣa was an age known for a great impetus to Art and Literature But much of the literature growing was not original (cp उन्पादका न बहवः कवयः सारभा इव ।— हर्ष Int v 5) Considerable plagiarism was prevalent (cp हर्ष. Int v 6) But a lot of good literature was also growing. There were different styles present in different regions (cp हर्ष. Int. v 7) The criteria for literary excellence according to Bṛā are नव अर्थ, अग्राम्या जाति, अस्मिन् स्लेष, स्फुट रस and विकटाक्षर-वन्द (cp हर्ष Int v 8) Bhavabhūti, who came soon after Bṛā had similar views (cp यत्रोद्भवमुदारता च वचना यच्चार्यतो गौरवम् —M. M. L.) Both prose and poetry were widely cultivated, but in Bṛā's days गद्य was particularly popular. Bṛā's ideas about good गद्य are reflected in the phrase, "उत्कृष्टवर्णितमिव विविचयः. श्रेणीवतिपद्यमानाभिन्नायं सत्यम्।" He refers to qualities of good कथा in क Int v 8 Importance of रस and छवि was emphasized by Bṛā [cp हर्ष Int v 8, क Int v 8, and "सुदुर्गाध्यमिव अनय-चिन्तितमिप्रायदेदम्—K. p १८७] Bṛā has also referred to artificial poetic devices like वक्रोक्ति, अक्षरच्युतक, मात्राच्युतक, बिन्दुमयी, प्रहेलिका, गूढचतुर्थवाद and प्रदान He refers to the following types of literature— कथा, आख्यायिका, आख्यान, नाटक, मुखादित and काव्य There was a lot of floating literature existing in his days. In हर्षचरित [cp हर्ष pp १९८-२००], in Skandagupta's speech in Harṣa there is reference to several stories, historical or legendary. The sources of many of these stories cannot be traced, but many of these are referred to in कौटिल्य's अर्थशास्त्र, कामन्दकीय नीतिसास्त्र and बृहन्संहिता Bṛā has referred to many of his predecessors or their works in his introduction to Harṣacarita Bṛā has also referred to भणिकवि, वर्णिकवि and प्राकृतकृत् amongst his contemporaries There were many Prakrits current then [cp अष्टादशनामस्य

referred to at K p १०८] The old *Dravida* was singing a song which was, in his own vernacular [cp. reference to द्राविड's स्वदेश-भाषानिवद्धभागीरथीभक्तिस्तोत्र K p 227] "Besides the above-mentioned literature there was tremendous growth of the technical religious and spiritual sides as well. Thus we find mention of मोमासा, Grammar, Logic, Law, Politics, Metre, Music, science of horses and elephants etc'. Bana has probably referred to काशिकावृत्ति or पाणिनिसूत्र, to वाक्यपदीय of भर्तृहरि and to न्याय, a commentary on काशिकावृत्ति etc through स्लेव at हर्षचरित pp ८६, -८७, though scholars are not agreed on this point. "The scripts in different parts of the country were quite different from each other and the knowledge of those scripts was considered as essential for gaining versatility [cp K p १०६ where people in उज्जयिनी are said to be सर्वलिपिज्ञ, and K p १५७ where Candrapida is said to have attained proficiency in all scripts ( सर्वलिपिपु )]. Of note are (1) a reference to कविद्वितक at हृ p 300 and to manuscripts of books at हृ p 378. Along with the growth of literature grew a number of other professions like लेखक (scribe), वाचक (reader), कथक (Narrator), वशिदन् (bard) etc

**Civil and Military Administration** — We do not get much information about civil administration. Yet we can be certain that the population was distributed between cities and villages. The usual extent of a village was an area tilled by a thousand ploughs [cp हृ p २०३ "भीरमहम्ममितसीम्ना ग्रामाणाम्"]. The headman of a village was called अक्षपाटलिक (being in charge of अक्षपटल or the place where account books were kept). He was assisted by a number of कणिक or accountants and clerks [cp हृ p २०३ "सकलवरणिपरिकर"]. The central office of the management and accounts was in the capital city, where the king personally supervised the work. Clerks of the court had records about varied details apropos villages and cities. The administration of justice was in the hands of अक्षपाटलिक in villages, and in the hands of judges in cities. Taxes generally were low, people were prosperous and contented. There were many अन्नछत्र, चर्मशाला and प्रपास. Harṣa very assiduously attended to the welfare of the state. Gifts were made in land or cash to worthy persons in recognition of some notable achievement in some field of activity. There was

not much litigation, though suits about robberies, offences, money-transactions etc. were occasionally there. But on the whole, "civil suits were comparatively very few and criminal even fewer still"

The whole country was divided into a number of smaller states. According to Hsien Tsang there were 72 such states [cp Vaidya pp 48-57]. They were brought under one sovereignty by Harsha. The important provinces mentioned by Bana are *Śyāmbhūdeva* and *Śrīkṣetra*, where *Harṣa* ruled his ancestral kingdom, the *Īṣa* country to the north on the lower slopes of *Himalayas*, *Kanauj* where *Yasodhara*, the husband of *Rajyasree*, ruled, *Malwa* the ruler of which killed *Yasodhara* and imprisoned *Rajyasree*, & *Gauṛa* country (central Bengal) where ruled *Shashanka*, who treacherously killed *Rajyasree*. The provinces already brought under control by *Harṣa*'s father were the *Īṣa* country, *Sindh*, *Gurjara*, *Śaśa*, *Īṣa* and *Malwa*. The king of *Pragjyotish* sought alliance with *Harsha* after the latter started his conquest.

The different local chiefs were generally at war amongst one another, though now and then a sovereign ruler like *Harsha* brought a political unity to the country (viz northern India) but after the sovereign power became weak, there would be disintegration again. *Harsha* established his sovereignty over the Northern India after a continuous warfare for thirty-five years as per the account of *Hsien Tsang* and his only defeat came at the hands of the *Calukya* king *Pulakesin II* (cp V Smith pp 313-4).

The system of monarchy was in vogue, and a king had all powers concentrated in his hands. He was supposed to have divine portions in his make-up. The usual timetable of the king would be to finish early his morning constitutional, go to the Assembly, grant interviews to persons waiting for him, discuss matters of state, then to retire to the inner apartments at the mid-day couch. There a king took some exercise, then bath, worship and food. After food he would have betel and in a few cases a perfumed cigar (cp *परिवर्द्धिभूमति* - K p 24). In the afternoon the king would again go to the assembly and retire once again in the evening to the inner apartments. (At K p 119 "न चकार

we get a good description of an ideal king's functions At K p 7 we get a description of kingly pastimes of king Sūdraka The following pastimes are enumerated (i) music (in which he used to play on the मृदङ्ग), (ii) मङ्गला (iii) काव्यप्रवचनरचना (iv) शास्त्रालाप (v) आस्थानक आख्यायिका-इतिहास-पुराण-आकणन (vi) आलेख्य-विनोद (vii) वीणावादन (viii) मुनिजनचरणसुश्रूषा (ix) अक्षरच्युतक, मादाच्युतक, विदमती, गुडचतुषपाद प्रहेलिका etc

The royal premises (राजकुल) consisted of the palace the harem the assembly hall and other state offices There were seven sections (सप्तकक्षान्तराणि) beyond which was situated the royal residence There were a number of mansions pleasure parks and pleasure-mountains armouries and stables for horses and elephants within the royal premises Camels are also mentioned in Harṣacarita There were different gates at different places with doorkeepers keeping a vigilant eye on the ingress and egress of people

Huen Tsang mentions that there were four divisions of the army but according to C V Vaidya only three were there viz Elephants Horses and Footsoldiers Chariots were not in use in the march of armies as a branch of the army Chariots seem to be used only on ceremonial purposes on occasions Harṣa had a very large army

The state administration was run by the king with the help of a number of ministers headed by a chief minister (e g शुभनास). In Kadambari we find a reference to hereditary ministers [cp का p 7 'अनेककुलप्रमायते अमात्यै परिवृत्त'] There was also a commander-in-chief There was generally benevolent monarchy as the ideal though not constitutional monarchy of the later times

Two ceremonies of military significance have been referred to in the Harṣacarita (1) नीराजना [cp हप p ४७] and (2) पुष्पाभिषेक (cp हप p ५८) The first is to be performed by the king before going to the battle field It consisted of waving light in general in front of the army In particular it was performed in the case of horses at the beginning of the षष्ठ, season The second was



the taking of ceremonial bath by the king on पुष्यनक्षत्र day accompanied by royal insignia "

In the early part of Uc. VII of the Harascanita, we have a very ornate description of the royal army on march, but there are many realistic touches too like the casual utterances of various persons in the march. We find that people on the way were sometimes complaining of loot and harassment, though generally they greeted the king with obeisance and presents.

The चतुर्सीमा of India are enumerated by Bāṇa in both हर्ष-चरित and वादम्बरी cp, "आ... उदयाचलात्, आ... सुवेलात्, आ... अन्त-गिटे, आ... गन्धमादनात् ।"—हर्ष pp. 335-6 "आ... शैलादुत्पन्नाम्, ...आ... सेतुबन्धात्, ...आ... मन्दराचलात्, ...आ... गन्धमादनात् ।"—वा. pp. 54-55. In one passage from हर्षचरित pp. 343-7 (प्रमाद-निर्बन्धम्) wherein Skandagupta advises to हर्ष, we get a number of references to old legends, many of which may be historical. So also in K, p. 331 there are some persons inquired about by Vilasavati, which persons may be historical, or may as well be non historical, specially वादम्बरी is a कथा and not वास्तविक.

Religious conditions.—There was complete religious tolerance in Bāṇa's days. Various rival sects lived side by side peacefully. The main rival religions of the day were Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism. Of these the last, particularly the दिगम्बर sect thereof, does not appear to have much popularity in northern India. The sight of a naked Jain monk was regarded as ominous (cp. अमिमल-मायगाम शिनिपिच्छलाञ्जनो ननाटक-ह. p. 254-5). The other two religions were flourishing. Hindus seemed to look at Buddhism with fairness and tolerance. cp 'मगवन् सर्वं... जनेन (ह. 428 9). A person could change his faith without much persecution दिवाकर-निन्द, originally a student of मैत्रायणीय recension of यजुर्वेद accepted Buddhism while he was still young. And even when he was a Buddhist, he was waited upon by followers of various schools like the Śāṅkay, Bhagavatas, Jāṇas, Pūrvaśāṅkay, Mīmāṃsākas etc. all in quest of truth, "in the giddy whirlport of opposing doctrines". Bāṇa, himself an orthodox Brahmin writer does not gloss over the Buddhist leanings of his patron's family. But as already said above

religious tolerance was by and large the order of the day and hence Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism, as also several other minor isms, though differing in cardinal philosophical doctrines to a fair extent, were amicably co-existing

And this religious tolerance in public was an echo of the religious tolerance practised by the Royal House for these were days, when राजा वालस्य कारणम् was a truism. Thus, while गुप्ति, Harṣa's remote ancestor was a devout worshipper of Śiva (cp ह pp १००-१) and had a great regard for the Śaiva भैरवाचार्य, प्रभाकरवर्धन, as also his two immediate predecessors were परमादित्य भक्तस प्रभाकरवर्धन every day worshipped the sun with red flowers. He had celebrated many and elaborate sacrifices, showing his love of Vedic religion. राज्यवर्धन, Harṣa's elder brother, was परमसीगत, and so also राज्यश्री, his sister had developed Buddhist leanings. When राज्यश्री was about to commit suicide in the Vindhya forest we find her companions invoking Buddha in their distress (cp भगवन् भक्तजने सञ्जचरिणि सुगत सुतोऽसि ह p 431). Harṣa was a परममाहेस्वर (cp the Madhuban Copperplate E I IV 67, Banskhera Copperplate E I IV 208). The Sonpat seal of Harṣa has an emblem of Nandi. Harṣa started on his expedition after worshipping Śiva (विरच्य परमा भक्त्या भगवतो नीललोहितस्यार्चाम् ह p 350). The head accountant of the village where Harṣa encamped on the first day presented him with a golden seal with the crest of a bull. Harṣa, though thus very much devoted to Śiva, and also to his family deity Āditya, was definitely inclined to Buddhism and has expressed his intention to don the red robes of Buddhism with his sister, after completing his avowed task of conquest (cp इय ॥ ग्रहीष्यति मयैव सम समाप्तद्वयेन कथायाणि—II p 450). But Harṣa was impartial in his liberality and at his quinquennial assemblies, wealth was distributed to followers of all religious denominations of the day. But the royal interest in Buddhism in Harṣa's days had made that religion an attraction for some learned Brahmins even to espouse (cp ४ pp 408-9 'युयते जनमिति' giving some information about दिवाकरगिरि). All this data shows that between Brahmin and Buddhist or between devotee of one deity or another, there did not exist any wide gulf as a

person brought up in different environment may feel as existing. "There were certain root-ideas, certain habits of thoughts and modes of life which were common to all" — Hiuen Tsang dwells at great length on the condition of religion in the times of हर्ष. He mentions that towards the end of his career Harṣa became a very devout Buddhist and once in every five years he held a great assembly on the sand of the river when he emptied his treasury to give away all in charity to the needy (B R W. W. Vol I pp, 214-5) We hope that the student of हर्षचरित will not fail to read the curious incidents and anecdotes that the Chinese traveller relates concerning Harṣa.

The main national religion of Bana's days, however, was the Hindu or Brahmanic religion. And Bana's works show how it was prospering well and how it was based on its वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्था. Bana was naturally very proud of the Brahmanic religion himself, and he has shown his full acquaintance with both of its sacramental and popular aspects, as has been shown in this book at various places, in discussions about the society of the 'day, about Bana's learning or about Bana's religion. But Bana shows also a fair acquaintance with almost all the other faiths in the field, prominent among which were Buddhism, Jainism and Śaivism.

Bana has referred to both the दिगम्बर (or मार्हतस) and स्वताम्बर (or इक्षेपट्ट) . The वेसल्लुञ्चन are separately mentioned, but we wonder whether they were a separate sect of Jainas as Dr Potdar believes. The Digambaras were not much respected as noted elsewhere. We have a reference to मयूरपिच्छबाहि क्षपणक at K. p 31. The नतदया aspect of Jainism was admired cp "जिनयमणेव जीवानुकम्पिना" — K p 106. Queen विलामवती approaches a सिद्धादेन नमस्कृत्य to get a boon for पुत्रप्राप्ति, though these naked monks were generally abhorred. A monk's uncleanness was looked at with disgust and contempt.

Buddha has been mentioned as a deity अयलोकितेश्वर, a बोधिसत्त्व, has been referred to (cp ह p ७२, २३७). Buddhists seem to be worshipping some deities of theirs. Bana refers to Buddha as Jina, and mentions the three resorts of Buddhism. The Buddhist Jatakas and the famous पाठ of वसुवधू seem to be widely

read and recognized books of Buddhism. Brahmin writers criticised Buddhist philosophy severely, but respected the personality of Buddha. Perhaps there was a sect of Buddhists who wore white garments instead of red (cp H. p २३६ 'पाण्डुरिभिसुभिः')

Siva followers were numerous e.g. Harṣa, Bāṇa, Sarasvatī, Mahas'vetā, Sūdraka, Puṣpabhūti Bhairavācārya are all Śiva devotees. Śiva temples abounded, Candikā worship seems to be popular in Āndhra. Bhairavācārya's description is typical of a शैव साधक (cp. H. pp १०३-४). A Śaiva text महाकालमत seems to be referred to at K. p ४२१. We have description of a Candikā temple at K. pp ४१७-२६, and of महानवमीह a festival in honour of Candikā at H. p २३२.

"The class of ascetics and mendicants had largely increased on account of the growth of various minor sects. Some of them were respected even in the royal palace, Kings were generally generous and religious by nature and hence they always welcomed the visit of such people. Thus it is described that ascetics of all sects, Buddha, Ārṇata, Paś'upata, Brahmachārin, were to be come across in the palace of Harṣa (p ६०). In the mansion of शुक्रनास too a similar gathering is referred to (K. p १९३)." Asceticism was not restricted to men only, nuns were also quite common. "Besides these religious sects, the old Āryan religion of sacrifices was also in vogue to some extent." Bāṇa is proud to have come from a family which was continuously observing the tradition of sacrifice.

The Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas had attained a position of holiness and recitations of these texts in public temples and private households seems to be popular. Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa and Purāṇas are many times alluded to by Bāṇa. The reader सुदृष्टि is said to have entertained Bāṇa to a recitation of वायुपुराण, वीराणिकस are said to have surrounded the bereaved Harṣa to console him when his father died. The महाभारत was very popular specially amongst women. Queen Vilasavatī in Kadambarī heard the recitation of Mahābhārata. Bāṇa's reference to Purāṇas and Paurāṇikas shows how western scholars are wrong in assigning a very late date to the Purāṇas.

Idolatry was quite common. In Kādambari we get a fine description of the temple of the Mahākālā of Ujjavini and of Śiva with four heads. We get descriptions of Candikā temples in both of Bāṇa's works. We find also a reference to Gaṇapati with one tusk. So also we get references to worship of Brahṃā and Kārtikeya, both of whom do not receive much worship these days. Āditya and many other deities were also worshipped.

There were temples of various deities and many had royal grants to support them. वर्मशास्त्राः, प्रपादः, स्तूत्राः and स्तम्भाः were there all over the country.

**Beliefs and Superstitions** —Social beliefs and superstitions always make an interesting reading, and show how we have not much changed through centuries in these matters.

Belief in omens was common and widespread in Bāṇa's days. Some of the ill-omens are : throbbing of left eye of men and right eye of women; general tremor of body and gloominess of disposition, the movements and cries of certain birds and animals (e.g. going of deer on one's left, the long and weird cry of a crow, howling of female jackals etc.) "Various phenomena in the atmosphere and on earth are understood as indicative of evil omen. The shower of dust, earth-quake, appearance of comets, redness of sky, stormy wind etc. are described as portending evil. The sight of certain persons was considered as inauspicious. Thus हर्ष sees, coming in front of him, a naked Jain a ascetic indicative of future evil. The sights of वन्दितः under anxious circumstances was also considered as indicative of calamity."

Divine favour was sought in times of distress. Various deities were propitiated. Worship and sacred recitals were resorted to.

Some auspicious things were a pitcher full of water, fire with flames *होमः प्रज्ज्वलः* etc.

Belief in astrology, palmistry and physiological marks was current. Dreams, particularly at early dawn were believed to be indicative of some coming events. Observance of vows and व्रतः was current. (e.g. दिगम्बरजी's observances for दुःखशान्ति at h. pp 64-65, also compare Parvatī's vows for attaining Lord Śiva as

her husband cp पार्वतीपरिणय pp 25-7) At times even magic remedies were tried = g. The जरदू, द्रविड used स्त्रीवशीकरणचूर्ण (cp. K. p 227 गृहीत चूर्णेन)

**Philosophy and Ethics :—**Bāṇa seems to be philosophically a believer in 'Unity in Trinity' (cp का Intr v. 1), a Vedantin (though not a मायावादिन् of the शाङ्कर view), and at the same time a special devotee of god Śiva (see ह Intr v 1, का Intr.v 1 पार्वती० v. 1 and also the section on Bāṇa's religion elsewhere in this book) An associate of Harṣa as he was he knew Buddhist philosophy well and knew both the earlier and later schools of Buddhism viz सर्वास्तित्ववाद and दून्यवाद (cp बौद्धनैव सर्वास्तित्ववाद-शूरेण—का p १०६ and बौद्धबुद्धिमिव निरालम्बनाम्—p २६५). For Bāṇa's regard for Buddhism cp "भयवन्. वचसाम्—ह. pp 428-9 and "मम. आरोपयिष्यात्"—ह p 430

The philosophy of मीमांसा had a great hold on people then, and Bāṇa has referred to terms like अधिकरण (cp वाक्याविदामधिकरण०—ह p ७९) and भावना (मीमांसया इव भावना—का p २६४). Bāṇa has referred with pride to his family traditions of learning. Bāṇa has also mentioned वैशेषिकः, सांख्यः, पाशुपतः, भागवतः, ईश्वर-कारणिकः, मत्सरिन्ऽ, ब्रह्मचारिन्ऽ, पौराणिकः, धर्मशास्त्रिन्ऽ, वैयाकरणः, कारन्धमिन्ऽ (Alchemists), पाञ्चरात्रः, वेदान्तिन्ऽ, मीमांसकः, the followers of the systems of न्याय (or ईश्वरकारणः), वैशेषिक (or कणादः), सांख्य (or कपिलः), वेदान्त (or औपनिषदः), मीमांसा (or सप्ततन्तुः). There were also aesthetes (cp "लोकायतिक" अधर्महन्त्रि... K P. 150). For reference to different philosophers and philosophies cp H p. 413 'धीतरागं—p 414 आवेद्यमानम्". Also cp K p 208 where we get reference to पाशुपतपरिब्राजिकः, स्वपदव्रतवाहिनीः, श्वेतपदव्यञ्जनाः, other तापसीः, and also to deities like अम्बिका, कालिकेय, विष्ट-रथवत्, जिन, आयं विलोकितेश्वर, अहंत, विरिञ्चि, नारद-दुहिन् (?) At K ॥ 95 Ś'ukanāsa ॥ waited upon (by) 'शाक्यद्विजैश्च'.

Belief in transmigration was deeprooted

Bāṇa seems to believe in the social order based on चातुर्वर्ण्य existing in his time His ideal village is असद्वीर्णवर्णव्यवहारस्थिति Asceticism was respected and Karma doctrine has brought a

fatalistic approach at large - Moral responsibility was emphasized and so was duty. Bapa's reformist leanings are seen in his spirited arguments against सत्ता. Bapa has given some practical advice e. g. in दुकनासोपदेश or कविञ्जल's address to पुष्टरीक

[In this chapter, the author is specially indebted to Dr Potdar's work unspecified quotations in this chapter are from him, those page references that are printed in Devanagari figures in this chapter are from N's Edns.]

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## CHAPTER IX<sup>1</sup>

### KATHĀ & ĀKHYĀYIKĀ

"The distinction between Ākhyāyikā and Kathā is presented to us in a puzzling confusion in the writers on poetics, explaining and justifying in large measure the refusal of Dandin in his Kavyādarśa to have anything to do with the distinction."

—Keith Classical Sk. Lit. p. 172.

Ancient Sanskrit Rhetoricians have divided Sanskrit Kāvya in three broad-though by no means scientific-divisions viz गद्य, पद्य and मिश्र. The गद्य is generally divided into कथा and आख्यायिका. Kātyāyana is the first author to mention 'आख्यायिका' specifically, Patañjali gives three illustrations of आख्यायिका (viz वासवदत्ता, सुमनोत्तरा & भैरव्यो ) while commenting on Kātyāyana's vartika. Agnipurāṇa deals with the nature of कथा and आख्यायिका as follows - 'कर्तृवशप्रशसा स्याद्यत्र गद्येन विस्तरात् । कन्याहरणसंग्रामविप्रलम्भविपत्तय ॥ भवन्ति यत्र दीप्ताश्च रीतिवृत्तिप्रवृत्तय । उच्छ्वासैश्च परिच्छेदो यत्र सा वृत्ति-कोत्तरा ॥ यत्र चापरवयव वा यत्र साऽऽख्यायिका मता ॥ श्लोकैः स्ववश सप्तोपाकविष्यं प्रशसति । मुख्यार्थम्यावताराय भवेद्यत्र कथान्तरम् ॥ परिच्छेदो न यत्र स्याद्भवेद्वा लम्बकं वचित् । सा कथा ॥ (Adh 337, 113-17). Actually Agnipurāṇa gives five varieties of गद्यकाव्य viz आख्यायिका, कथा, खण्डकथा, परिकथा and कथानिका. But the last three are only minor sub-varieties of कथा.

Bhāmaha defines कथा and आख्यायिका almost similarly :— 'प्रकृतानाकुलप्रथमशब्दार्थपदवृत्तिना । गद्येन युक्तोदात्तार्था सोच्छ्वासाऽऽख्यायिका मता ॥ वृत्तमाख्यायते तस्या नामकेन स्वचेष्टितम् । यत्र चापरवयव च काले भाव्यर्थशसि च ॥ यवेरभिप्रायकृत्तरङ्गवर्ण ( v. 1 वचनं ) कैश्चिदङ्कितम् । कन्याहरणसंग्रामविप्रलम्भोदयान्विता । न यत्रापरवयवा युक्ता नोच्छ्वासवत्यपि ॥ संस्कृतं संस्कृता चेष्टा कथाऽपरशमानतया । अर्थं स्वचरितं तस्या नामकेन नु मोच्यते । स्वगुणाविष्टितिं कुर्यादभिजातः यश्च जनः ॥ ( I. 25-29 ).

"Putting together the characteristics of these two classes of prose works as given by the Agnipurāṇa and Bhāmaha, an ancient rhetorician, we gather that (1) in an आख्यायिका there is a detailed



eulogy of the poet's family in prose, while in a कथा the poet briefly praises his family in verse (2) In an आख्यायिका such topics as the kidnapping of a girl, battles separation of the hero are described, in a कथा it is not so (3) In an अख्यायिका it is the hero who relates his own deeds, in a Katha the story is told by others and not by the hero (4) An आख्यायिका is divided into sections called उच्छ्वास and contains stanzas in the वक्त्र and the अपरवक्त्र metres, which are suggestive of future events a कथा may not be divided into sections and if it is, they are called लम्ब (5) an आख्यायिका is distinguished by the possession of certain catchwords which the poet ingeniously puts in, in a कथा it is not so "

With slight variations\* Dandin in his Kavyadarśa notes these characteristics of the Katha and the Ākhyayika, criticises the two fold distinctions of Gadya, shows that the characteristics mentioned are not exclusive, nor have writers followed these uniformly, and comes to the conclusion that both the Katha and Ākhyayika are but two names of the same species of prose composition (cp काव्यादर्श I 23 30 " गद्यमाख्यायिका कथा ।

\* The distinctions between कथा and आख्यायिका given by Kane, after Dandin are as follows — "(1) In an आख्यायिका it is the hero himself who tells the whole story, while in कथा the story is told either by the hero or by some one else (2) An आख्यायिका is divided into sections named उच्छ्वास and contains verses in the वक्त्र and अपरवक्त्र metres while in a कथा it is not so (3) In a कथा such topics as the kidnapping of a girl, battles, separation, the rise of the sun and the moon are described, in an Ākhyayika it is not so (4) A Katha is distinguished by possessing certain catchwords which the author intentionally puts in ' We shall find that there is some difference in these items and the points given by us after अग्निपुराण and भागवत But about points 3 and 4 from Mm Kane's summary from Dandin, we wonder whether Mm Kane has not erred in summarising Prid Karmarkar makes the following additional points after Dandin (1) A कथा uses the आयर् (2) Also a कथा is written either in Sanskrit or in Prakrit (cp कथा हि सर्वभाषाभिः संहृतान च दध्यत । भूतभाषामयी प्राहुरदभूताया बृहत्क्याम् ॥—काव्यादर्श I

इति तस्य प्रभेदो द्वौ तयोराख्यायिका किल ॥ नायकेनैव वाच्यान्या नायकेनेतरेण वा । स्वगुणाविप्त्रियादोपो नात्र भूतार्थशस्तिन ॥ अपि त्वनियमो दृष्टस्तत्राप्यन्यैरुदीरणात् । अन्यो वक्ता स्वय वेति कीदृग्वा भेदलक्षणम् ॥ वक्त्र चापरवस्त्र च सोच्छ्वासत्व च भेदकम् । चिन्हमाख्यायिकायाश्चेत्, प्रसङ्गेन कथास्वपि । आर्यादिवत्प्रवेश किं न वा वक्त्रापवक्त्रयो । भेदश्च दुष्टो लम्भादिरुच्छ्वासो वास्तु किं तत् ॥ तत्त्वयाख्यायिकेयेका जाति सज्ञाद्वयादिकता । अर्थवान्तर्भव्यन्ति शेषाश्चारयानजातय ॥ कन्याहरणसग्रामविप्रलम्भोदयादय । सर्गबन्धनमा एव नैते वैशेषिका गुणा ॥ कविभावकृत चिन्हमन्यत्रापि न दुष्यति । मूलमिरटार्यसंनिधये किं हि न स्वाश्रुतात्मनाम् ॥ १. Dandin's opinion is of a very great significance. Because firstly he was himself a famous गद्यकवि. And secondly he must have had before him many more examples of कथा and आख्यायिका than we have and must have found that there are not sufficient distinctions between the two varieties. His *Daśakumāracarita* agrees strictly with neither of the stereotyped definitions of कथा and आख्यायिका.

But in spite of Dandin's criticism, the orthodox division was accepted in succeeding centuries by rhetoricians like Rudraṭa, Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta and others, though they too do not agree fully as regards the details of these two varieties. Bhaṭṭa has referred to these two classes of literature amongst others. He has paid a compliment in his *Harṣacarita* to previous आख्यायिकाकारः. Bhaṭṭa has mentioned as peculiarities of आख्यायिका two factors viz. division into उच्छ्वास and the occurrence of वक्त्रामetre. He himself calls *Harṣacarita* an आख्यायिका. So also he calls कादम्बरी as a कथा. The author of *अलङ्कारमग्नह* added a new distinction viz. that आख्यायिका shall be based on historical facts and कथा on a fictitious plot (गद्य तु नयित द्वेषा कथेत्याख्यायिकेति च । कथा कल्पितवृत्तान्ता, सत्यार्थस्यायिका मता ॥) Amarakoṣa too defines कथा and आख्यायिका as 'आख्यायिकोपलब्धार्था' (historical narrative), 'प्रबन्ध-वर्णना कथा' (romantic narrative). According to this criterion *Daśa* is a Kathā. This new principle seems to be added after Bhaṭṭa's works were known. Rudraṭa in his *Kavyalankara* has defined the Kathā and Ākhāyikā (cp. वाचस्पत्युपनिषद् — 16. 20. 30) forming his definitions apparently on the models of the *Kadambari* and the *Harṣacarita*, the two standard specimens of these kinds of prose.

compositions Ānandarvārdhana refers to Katha and Ākhyayikā in his Dhvanyaloka when he lays down certain restrictions on the use of long compounds. He says that long compounds should not occur in depiction of pathos and the love of separated lovers—  
 आख्यायिकाया तु भूम्ना मध्यममनादीर्घममामेव सत्पठने । गद्यस्य विकटनिब-  
 न्धाधयेन च्छायावत्प्रात् । तत्र च तस्य प्रवृत्त्यमाणत्वात् । कथाया तु विकटवन्धप्रा-  
 न्त्येऽपि गद्यस्य रसव-बोधनोचित्यमनुमतेष्यम् । गद्यवन्धेऽपि अतिदीर्घममात-  
 रक्षणा न विप्रलम्भन्युद्धारकरणमोरास्त्राधिक्यानामपि सामतः । ” (cp Dhvan-  
 yaloka Nirṇayasagara edn pp 143-144) (Earlier Dandin had  
 recognised profusion of compounds as the very life of prose :  
 भोज समानभूयस्त्वनेनद् गद्यस्य जीविनम् ।—Kavya I 80) Abhinava-  
 gupta distinguishes between these two classes of compositions by  
 saying that while the Ākhyayikā is possessed of sections called  
 उच्छ्वासः and of stanza in वक्त्रा and अपरवक्त्रा metres, the Katha  
 is free from such characteristics (cp “आख्यायिकोच्छ्वासादिना वक्त्रा-  
 परवक्त्रादिना च युक्ता । कथा तद्विरहिता ।” लोचन p 14) Vidyanaṭha  
 in his प्रतापसूत्रयशोभूषण (cp 96 B S S) characterises the Ākhy-  
 ayikā in similar fashion

The most modern definitions of the Katha and Ākhyayikā are those given by Viśvanātha (15th cent A D) in his Sahityadarpaṇa VI. His definitions echo the earlier ones. According to him a Katha contains a fine plot in prose with here and there a stray stanza in the अर्था, वक्त्रा or अपरवक्त्रा metres, in the beginning there is a salutation in verse and a mention is made of the conduct of the wicked etc. An Ākhyayikā is similar to a Katha but in it we have in addition an account of the poet's family and sometimes of other poets. The divisions of the narrative are styled as आश्वासः (which word curiously is never in vogue<sup>1</sup>), which contain in the beginning stanzas in the अर्था, वक्त्रा and अपरवक्त्रा metres that are suggestive of future events. For Viśvanātha's definition cp “कथाया सरसं वस्तुं गद्यैरेव विनिर्मितम् । नञ्चिदत्र भवेदाया नञ्चिद्वक्त्रा-  
 पवक्त्रके ॥ आदौ पद्यैर्नमस्कारं मलादेर्वृत्तकीर्तनम् । आख्यायिका कथावत्स्वात्क-  
 वंशानुकीर्तनात् । अन्यामन्वकवीना च वृत्तं पद्यं नञ्चिन्नञ्चिन् ॥ कथाशाना  
 व्यवच्छेदः आश्वाम इति दध्यते । आश्वविस्त्रापवक्त्राणां छन्दानां यत्र केनचित् ॥  
 अन्यापद्येनाश्वामुक्तेः अन्यवस्तुमनम् ॥ ”  
 —साहित्यदर्पण VI

## CHAPTER X

### (A) The Sanskrit Prose Romance

“If as I have been accustomed in these lectures to say, ‘Poetry is the expression, in beautiful form and melodious language, of the best thoughts and noblest emotions, which the spectacle of life awakens in the finest souls’, it is clear that this may be effected by prose as truly as by verse, if only the language be rhythmical and beautiful”

—Prof Sharp, ‘Aspects of Poetry’

In Sanskrit Literature verse has always been the more popular vehicle of expression than prose.† All the same Sanskrit Prose contains a vast amount of Literature. Sanskrit narrative prose begins in the brahmanical legends in the Yajurveda and the various Brāhmanas. Its tradition continued through the prose portions of Mahābhārata. This early narrative prose was essentially simple and colloquial. The current of narrative Sanskrit Prose gradually then branched in two main streams: (i) The Fable literature and (ii) The Sanskrit Prose Romance, with which we are directly concerned here.

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†Sanskrit *Saṁhita*, *śāstra* has never equated Kāvya style with verse-form. Poetry may be written in prose, in verse or in a mixture of the two. From the earliest times Sanskrit Rhetoricians have drawn a clear distinction between the essential and the non-essential or variable attributes of poetry, and the literary form of expression has been made variable. Sanskrit Kāvya is divided into (i) दृश्य & श्रव्य or (ii) गद्य, पद्य & मिश्र. Of these latter, Prose is represented in Sanskrit Literature by comparatively few works. Sanskrit Literature is extremely poor in prose, and it has about half a dozen good works in this branch. They are दशकुमारचरित, हयचरित, कादम्बरी, वासवदत्ता, तिलकमञ्जरी, गद्यचिन्तामणि and धीरनारायणचरित. Besides these Daga mentions a महाकाव्य by भट्टारहरिचन्द्र and वनगल in his तिलकमञ्जरी (Intro st 23, 36) mentions तरङ्गवती and त्रैलोक्यसुन्दरी. [Prose was mainly used as a vehicle for bhāṣya and such works]

When we speak of Sanskrit Prose Romance, we immediately think of the 'famous four' viz (i) *Dasakumaracarita* of Dandin (ii) *Garuda* of Subandhu, (iii) *Harsacarita* and (iv) *Kadambari*, both of Banabhatta. But obviously they had their predecessors, though their works have not come down to us. The narrative literature started from the fountainhead of the Vedic legends, the two national Epics—the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, the *Brhatkatha* and the *Puranas*. Though the *Avadanas* and *Avadana-vikranta* in the technical sense are products of a later age, *Avadanas*, *Avadana-vikranta*, *Itihasas* etc. have been referred to by early authors.

It would be worthwhile to survey such earlier references to these literary types, because they would show how the narrative literature in Sanskrit was unfolding itself and how the forms *Kavya* and *Avadana-vikranta* emerged out in due course. The earliest author to refer to *Avadanas*, *Avadana-vikranta*, *Itihasas* and *Puranas* is Kalidasa (cp his *Varanasi* 'लुवावदनाविक्रान्तिहामपुराणस्यैव' on पा ४, ३, ८३, and the *Varanasi* 'लुवावदनाविक्रान्तिहामपुराणस्यैव' on पा ४, २, ६०). Patanjali, while commenting on the abovementioned *Varanasi* 'लुवावदनाविक्रान्तिहामपुराणस्यैव' gives the names of three *Avadana-vikranta* (i) *Varanasi* (not Subandhu's obviously) (ii) *Sumanantara* and (iii) *Samrasi*. Cp 'अधिष्ठानं नृपस्यैव' बहुत लुवावदना । वासवदत्ता सुमनोतरा च । म च भवति । समरसी । At another place Patanjali speaks of one who knows or studies the *Avadana-vikranta*, *Varanasi* or *Sumanantara* cp 'वासवदत्तः, नामनातरि' । Kailash's edn of *Mahabharata* Vol II p 284. Guṇadhyāy's *Varanasi* was a very eminent work in *Varanasi*, and it is a source of much of later narrative and fable literature. Jalhana refers to *Varanasi* of *Varanasi* and *Varanasi* of *Varanasi* and *Varanasi* of *Varanasi* by *Varanasi*. Bana has himself referred to *Varanasi* of *Varanasi* and *Varanasi* of *Varanasi*. Dandin (6th cent. A.D.) refers to the distinction between *Kavya* and *Avadana-vikranta*, discusses it and finally disapproves of it as being hypocritical as both are different names for the same class of composition (cp *Kavyadarśana* I 23-30). Dandin is the only author who has referred to *Avadana-vikranta* as a product of

†We do not know what kinds of works these *Varanasi*, *Sumanantara* and *Samrasi* are, for up till now their names only are known.

compounds (cp तद्गुरुणा लघूना च बाहुल्यात्पत्वमिथर्गः । उच्चावचप्रकारं तद् दृश्यमाख्यायिकादिषु ॥—काव्यादर्श I 81 ). Subandhu seems to indicate literary prose current in his days—which has had some particular poetic canons to observe cp ‘सत्कविकाव्यवच इवावद्धनु-  
हिन—वासवदत्ता p 134 (Hall)’ (wherein he votes against the use of padding words like तु, हि etc ), and ‘दीर्घोच्छ्वासरचनाकुल मुश्लेष-  
चक्षुषमन्तान् सत्कविचक्षुषमिव—वासवदत्ता p 184 (Hall)’ (where he refers to the division of a work in उच्छ्वासा and the use of श्लेष and verses in वक्त्र metre, and where he seems to have the आख्यायिका type in mind ) Bana often alludes to the two classes of composition viz कथा and आख्यायिका among others cp ‘काव्यनाटकाख्या-  
नाख्यायिकादिदृश्याख्यानादिनियानिगुणं’—para 4 of कादम्बरी ‘कथामु-  
नाटकेषु आख्यायिकाषु पाठ्येषु’—para 71 of कादम्बरी; ‘उच्छ्वासान्तेऽप्य-  
खितान्तं येषां वक्त्रे मरुम्बनी । कथमाख्यायिकाकाव्यं न ते बन्धाः कवीश्वरा ॥’  
( हर्षचरित Intro v 10 wherein he pays a tribute to the आख्यायिका-  
कारस preceding him and refers to two peculiarities of the आख्यायिका  
type viz उच्छ्वासा and वक्त्र metre verses ), ‘करोम्याख्यायिकाम्नोवौ  
जिह्वाप्लवनचापलम् । (हर्ष Intro v 19 wherein he clearly calls his  
हर्षचरित as आख्यायिका ); In कादम्बरी पूर्वभाग Intro vv 8, 9 and 20  
clearly indicate that कादम्बरी was intended as a कथा, verse 20 of  
these specifically says so. ( द्विजेन तेन . निबद्धेयमतिद्वयी कथा ) Thus  
when Bana wrote one आख्यायिका and one कथा, he was not striking  
a new path, but he had a certain amount of such literature before  
him, and critics were already laying down canons governing these  
two types.

Just as we have discussed the development of Sanskrit Prose  
Romance in pre Bana days just now, it would be interesting to  
see how far the literary ornate prose style which finds mature  
expression in Bana’s works had developed in pre-Bana centuries,  
and how the simple prose of the Epic or pre-classical period got its  
richness of poetic sentiments, devices and figures . And in this  
survey, we feel it an honour to find the way, under the guiding  
light shed by that doyen of alamkarikas Mm. P. V Kane, who  
informs how some scholars believe that Bana wrote before  
“Sanskrit rhetoricians had done their best to degrade the sublime  
art of poetry to a pedantic enunciation of set similes and metaphors”.

(Vide Dr Peterson's Introduction p 43) Mm Kane has shown how this contention is to a great extent fallacious. For we can easily demonstrate that long before Bṛha the science of Rhetoric had made great progress. Here are some important land marks therein — (i) In an inscription of रुद्रादाम् (150 A D) [Archaeological survey, Western India vol II (about Kathiawad) p 128] we find prose which contains long compounds, alliterations (अनुप्रास) and other figures. In this very inscription, we find a reference to some fundamental literary norms in the phrase “स्फुटलघुमधुरविनयान्तसुन्दरमयोदारालङ्कारगुणयुक्त” (prose and poetry, ornate, and decorated by poetic conventions and perspicuous, short, sweet, striking and charming words) (ii) In an inscription of समुद्रगुप्त (4th cent A D) (Dr Fleet's Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum vol III p 9) we have a prose that almost vies with that of Bṛha cp “कृपणदीनानायातुरजनोद्धरणममरदीक्षाशुपगतममम समिद्धस्य विग्रहवतो लोचानुग्रहस्य धनदवरणेन्दान्तकममस्य स्वभुजवलाविजितानेकनरपतिविभवप्रत्ययपणित्यव्यपृतामदतपुष्पस्य निशितविश्ववनतिगा-धर्वल्लिखैर्दीप्तिनिदिग्धपतिगुस्तुम्बुरनारदादविद्वज्जनोपशोष्यमानानेककाव्यनिर्याभिप्रतिष्ठितकविगजदादस्य” &c (iii) The Mandisor inscription of 437 A D, composed by बलभट्टि shows the poet's attempt to rival in diction and imagery with great masters of classical Sanskrit like Kalidasa and Bhavbhut specially the former cp “चलपनाकान्यवलासनापान्यत्यर्धगुल्लान्यधिकारानि । तद्विल्लनाचित्रमितामूतुल्योदमानानि गूहाणि यव ॥” Or “गमाननाथभवनोदरभास्कगवहिनप्रनापनुमगे जल्लोचनीने । चद्रागुह्यन्तलचन्दनान्बन्धनहारोभोगरहिने हिमदिग्गजने ॥” or “चतुस्रमुद्रान्तविलोभितला मुग्धैर्ललामदहृषयाप्रराम । वनान्तवात्सफुत्पुष्पहामिनी मुमारगुण पृथिवी प्रशामनि ॥” Or “स्मरवद्वत्तमजन्तलभाद्रानाविपुलकान्तपीनारगतनवचनालिङ्गननिनलिततुल्लिङ्गमपान ॥” (This last verse, an āśā, contains one single compound) (iv) Bharavi (circa 550 A D) has devoted one entire canto XV of his Kiratārjunīya to attempt various अदाहकार्य चित्रयुक्, variety of metaphors etc (v) Dhanvanta the 6th Cent A D gives a fairly detailed treatment of rhetoric, and clearly says that he is working on the ground laid down by the पञ्चायन cp “किं तु व ज विकल्पानापूर्वाचार्यैः प्रकल्पितम् । तद्व परिमन्त्रं नमस्मपरिधम् ॥” — काव्यादत्त II 2.

It was Dandin who asserted " अजं नमानभूयस्त्वमेतद् गद्यस्य जीवितम् ।" — वाच्यादने I 80 And later writers have generally followed his dictum (vi) Bhatta who comes from the 6th or 7th Cent A. D. has devoted four सर्ग's of his *प्रतिषाध्य* for illustrating subjects of rhetorical nature, and has exemplified more than thirty figures of speech (vii) In *मुद्ररक्ष* वासवदत्ता we meet a number of allusions to Rhetoric Subandhu has boasted of *प्रत्यक्षरस्य* — cp " मरुत्वोत्तबरप्रगादचक्रे मुद्ररक्ष मुञ्जवन्धु । प्रत्यक्षरस्यमयप्रथमविस्मयार्थदाम्पनिर्विघ्नपथम् ॥ ". He also refers to *दृष्टता* *द्वय*, *उपेता* and *आलोप* cp " दृष्टगलावधौ वर्णपथनागु उभेराशेषौ वाच्यालटवारेष " — वासवदत्ता p 126 (Hall) (viii) Bhaṭṭa has mentioned the figures of speech *जाति* (= स्वभावाति), *उपेक्षा* and *हृदय* in the introductory verses to *पञ्चरत्न*, and the figures *दीप्त*, *उत्पत्ति*, *हृदय* and *जाति* in the introductory verses to *Kadambari*. Thus Bhaṭṭa was preceded by considerable development of Rhetoric, and there had developed already a literary prose having the usual stylistic features of literary prose like *सिद्ध* words alliterations, epithets and compounds. Also compare the remarks of Prof. A. A. Macdonell in his *History of Sanskrit Literature* (p 321) : " Besides the epigraphic evidence of the Gupta period, we have two important literary prose inscriptions of considerable length, one from Girnar and the other from Nasik, both belonging to the 2nd century A. D. They show that even then there existed a prose *kaavya* style, which in general character and in many details resembled that of the classical tales and romances. For they not only employ long and frequent compounds but also the ornaments of alliteration and various kinds of simile and metaphor, their use of poetical figures is however, much less frequent and elaborate, occasionally not going beyond the simplicity of the popular epic." Rhetoricians of old from early days have drawn and discussed the distinction between *वचन* and *अवयव* as we have seen in Chap. IX. All the evidence goes to show that Sanskrit Prose Romance had a tradition of its own. It might not have been stereotyped in early days. Probably then there were almost have been more narrative than didactic prose and it had its own popular epic figures or legendary figures like an *Udaya* or a



Vikrama. The inscriptional literature also suggests a gradual growth of Sanskrit Prose style

But when we come to the 'famous four', we find a considerable ornateness of style. Vigour of style and long compounds become now the *sine qua non* of Sanskrit Prose Romance. cp ओज समासभूयस्त्वमेव दुर्गवस्य जीविष्यसि । Description gets the upper hand with narrative naturally going in the background. The thread of the narrative is generally slender and halting and it is almost suffocated under long descriptions full of compounds, puns, literary tricks, various *alamkāras* and the like. All the same charming descriptions, poetical thoughts, pithy sayings and gracefully simple prose passages are found interspersed in those elaborate compositions.

Dandin's *Daśakūmaracārītā* or 'the narrative of ten Kumaras' is the simplest of the four great Romances in its style and is a very popular work. The story centres round Prince Rajavahana and his nine associates, who meet after a separation in Ujjayini and relate the accounts of experiences of each in their sojourns. The work is known as a 'dhātukhyāna'. The various experiences of the prince and the ministers' sons run the entire gamut of life, from princes to paupers, from pativratas to prostitutes, and they present a picture of society, which is very live, though full of the wondrous and the supernatural too! Dandin's style is on the whole Vaidarbhi. His 'padalalyta' is famous. His skill as a narrative author is considerable and he creates subtle humour of character and situation. He uses *Śleṣa* freely but is never pedantic about it. His style is graceful, simple and vigorous.

The *Vasavadattā* of Subandhu narrates the story of a maiden Vasavadattā (who is different for the Vasavadattā of the Udayana legend). Subandhu is a specialist in *Vakrokti* and *śleṣa*. He calls himself 'प्रत्यमरश्चैरमयप्रदः प्रविन्यागवैदग्यनिधिः'. The framework of the story is slender and the gorgeous description in its manifold elaboration is everything. The maiden's beauty, the hero's heroism and the charming description of the spring, the forest and the mountain are very vividly painted. The interest of the story is almost lost in its artificiality of style which often becomes wearisome and puzzling to the reader. It is written in perfect Gaudi

## ( B ) The Historical Kavya

“ सट्वापते सकुचित यगा यन यत्कीर्तिपात्र रघुराजपुत्र ।  
स सर्व एवादिवच प्रभाव न कोऽनीया वचयितीद्रे ॥

—बिहलणस्य

It is an ageold complaint that Indians as a whole have lacked historical consciousness in their early literature. And naturally enough Historical Kavya in Sanskrit is represented by just a few works the most outstanding being Kalhapa's राजतरङ्गिणी. Because of the general lack of historical perspective we have the odd experience of eking out little bits of historical facts from the phenomenally voluminous Sanskrit literature. In the long vista of Sanskrit (and also Prakrit) literature the following have some historical significance (1) Stray Vedic references to historical matters (2) Epics and पुराण (3) The Various अनुक्रमणीs of the वेदs (4) The different scattered piecemeal data available in different classical Sanskrit works (5) Buddhistic and Jain works (which unfortunately lack as much historical sense as their Hindu counterparts) (6) The Indian inscriptions are the most valuable and most important branch of Indian historical literature.

Now we shall deal with the more important of the Historical Kavyas —

(1) The Harṣacarita of Banabhatta —see above Chap. V

(2) The Gaudavaho of Vakpatiraja —This Prakrit work of early 8th cent. A. D. has a lot of historical bearing and throws much light on the society of the day.

(3) The नवसाहसार्कचरित of पद्यमुक्त (or परिमल) (1005 A. D.) —This is a poetic work of 11 cantos which has for its theme the history of king नवसाहसादिक of Malwa and his winning of Princess Sagiprabha. The author of this historical काव्य was a protege of the kings of Dhruva, Vakpatiraja and Sindhuraja who inspired him to compose it.

(4) (5) The drama कणमुदरी and the historical काव्य विक्रमादिक देवचरित —Bilhana (11th cent. A. D.) has two works of historical significance (i) the semi-historical drama Karpasundari and (ii) The famous historical Kavya Vikramanadevacarita. In कणमुदरी he describes the marriage of a Chalukya prince with a Vidyadhara

## (B) The Historical Kavya.

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म सर्व एवादिवचे प्रभाव न कोपनीया वचस्य शितीन्द्रं ॥

—विह्वलणस्य.

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into royal favour and he has written a Kāvya named जयगिहाम्बुदय in honour of that king. But his fame rests mainly and appropriately on his राजतरङ्गिणी.

Kalhana had taken his task of historian seriously and he had studied all the historical works of his time like the Purāṇas Harṣacarita, works of Bilhana inscriptions, grants, traditions etc. He had seen places of historical significance, examined coins and thus tried to get all the possible preparation as a historian. And he has given a vivid description of the historical and social facts of Kashmir. He opines that the people of Kashmir are beautiful but fickle minded, the army undisciplined and nervy, but the princes were courageous and spirited. The officers were noted for corruption and highhandedness. Kalhana excels even Bilhana or Bana in characterisation.

But Kalhana has limited himself to Kashmir's history and his work does not deal with outside matters to any appreciable extent. Further he wrote history to convey the futility of rulership and empires.

He has tried to give the history of Kashmir from earliest times to the 12th century A. D. The first three तरङ्गः mainly deal with the गोनन्द (or गोनन्दपद). In the 4th is described the कर्कोट वंश in the 5th उत्पलवंश, in the 6th लोहरवंश, in 7th the account is brought to हर्ष's assassination and in the 8th from उच्छतः's राज्या-रोहण a period of forty years is covered, until the contemporary days of king Jayasimha. In the earlier portion we find that mythology has got mixed up with history and so the account is not reliable completely from a historical angle. The more contemporary period is naturally treated with a more certain touch.

Other miscellaneous works under historical काव्य which have some historical significance are the following—राजावलि of जोनराज, राजावलि of श्रीवर, बालम-जुयीकल्प (a Buddhist work) सोमपाल विलास of जल्हण, रामपालचरित of ————— of मेचन्द्र पृथ्वीराजविजय of unknown of सोमेश्वरदत्त, जगद्गुचरित of ————— of कर्ण-पूर of शम्भु, रघुनाथाम्बुदय

## Appendix A

### Alamkaras and Subhasitas in Banabhatta's Works

[ We give below a list of selected references to passages in Banas works—*हृयचरित* and *कादम्बरी*—to illustrate Banas's use of the different figures of speech. And then we give a select collection of Banas's subhasitas ]

#### (Part I) Alamkaras in Banabhatta's Works

1 उपमा—(i) हृ intro v 16 (ii) 'सायतने तनीयति जिह्वा-  
निश्वासनिर्मे नमस्त्विति —हृ p 22 (iii) The teeth of Bhairavacarya's  
emissary are 'अलावृवीनविष्ट —हृ p 165 (iv) 'बोद्धेनेव जीवा-  
नुदम्पिना'—का p 51 (v) 'ये उपमाति'—का (उ) p 287

2. श्लिष्टोपमा—(i) हृ intro v 4 (ii) हृ intro v 12 (iii)  
हृ intro v 13 (iv) हृ intro v 14 (v) हृ intro v 17 (vi)  
हृ intro v 20 (vii) 'मास्वमव्यनायक-उदवहती-हृ p 12  
(viii) 'चक्रर इतकर'—का p 5 (ix) प्रेताधिपनगरीव विविधनुमुमा  
च। (There is double उपमा herein—का pp 19-20 (x)  
'मये च जनस्य —का (उ) p 202

3 रूपक—(i) हृ intro v 1 (ii) हृ intro v 19 (iii) हृ  
intro v 21 (iv) 'एष प्रवाह मुवाताम—का p 44

4 श्लिष्टरूपक—(i) 'स्यस्य पिठिणा —का (उ) p 287

5 उत्प्रेक्षा—(i) हृ intro v 2 (ii) हृ intro v 3 (iii)  
'निर्मलानताडन समुद्रनासमाना —हृ pp 11-12 (iv) 'सनात-  
कपोलस्यलीं वषाणा'—हृ p 12 (v) 'निर्गोकमुविन कृतयुगस्य'—हृ  
p 30 (vi) हारमिव बहस्य अम्बरधिया—हृ p 30 (vii) 'अति  
चिर रात्रलमी'—का p 5 (viii) 'आमरण उद्दमानम्'—का p 9  
(ix) उमद यमुनाम् —का p 11 (x) 'अति-यूल स्याम्'—का  
p 11 (xi) 'सवतरय अम्बरन —का p 83 (xii) 'उचित अपस्यन्'  
—का p 183 (xiii) 'पिबतिव वषाणम् —का (उ) p 340

6 इत्थेय—(i) हृ intro v 6 (ii) 'एवचनि प्रवाहमणि'—  
हृ p 163 (iii) वने स्वस्य —हृ pp 332-3 (iv) घन सम्भू-  
ताग्नि'—हृ p 419

7 विरोधभास — (i) 'सनिहित स्निग्धतारका च'—ह. p 42 (ii) 'यत्र च प्रमदा'—ह pp 160-1 (iii) 'अपरिमित अद्राक्षीत्'—वा. pp 9-12 (iv) 'अपरिमित पवित्रा'—वा p 20 (v) 'अभिनव. दीवन राजसेवानभिषम्'—का p 31 (vi) 'वनचरोऽपि वामलोचन'—का p 37 (vii) 'महाद्वार विवेश'—p 92 (viii) 'तोयराशि बलुपीकरोति'—का p 105 (ix) का (उ) para 276

8 स्वभाषोक्ति — (i) दायभोषजुषि शिशुजने—ह p 132 (ii) vv 5-6—ह pp 152-3.

9 सहोक्ति — (i) का (उ) para 276

10 व्यतिरेक — (i) 'नाम्नैव वामुदेवम्'—वा p 5

11 निदर्शना — (i) 'गच्छतु आरीपयति'—वा p 155

12 परिसरणा — (i) 'अस्मिन्च राजनि विचारा'—ह p 27 (ii) 'यस्मिन्च राजनि आसन्'—वा p 6 (iii) 'यत्र च ..अधोगति'—वा para 37 (iv) 'वैषा च धर्मय'—वा (उ) p 288.

13 बोधक — (i) 'तथा पारयति'—वा (उ) p 253

14 मालाबोधक — (i) 'अपि कुमुदयवा'—वा (उ) p 290

15 अपह्नुति — (i) 'अथ तस्या वपटमभूत्'—वा p 190 (where we have almost 3 सदेहमद्वय or अपह्नुतिस & व्यावोक्तिस)

16 अनुप्रास — (i) 'गर्वोचोदष्टचदुश्च .. पट्चरणचने'—ह p 22 (ii) 'स्वह्मस्तुह्य तारकाम्'—ह p 29 (iii) 'भगवति.. भस्तिरभूत्'—ह p 164 (iv) 'सदाकठ बोद्गमा'—ह p 144 (v) 'याम .. धर्मस्य'—वा p 56 (vi) वा para 131

### (Part II) Subhāṣitas in Bhaṣabhaṭṭa's Works

(1) विदुष्या हि पिपा पयनि वृत्तमुदय सर्वानपि अगल सतो वा ।—ह p 18 (2) नित्यमविराषिनी चय पय पावत्याखि धर्मत्रोपयोरेव न वृत्ति—ह p 18 (3) समा हि मूय गयैतममाम ।—ह p 18 (4) निपारणा च निरारण्यनि विदुष्यनि मनश्चिनो.. पि मानममम.. गनादापन.. ।—ह p 23 (5) मतो हि पिपवता वृत्तविद्या ।—ह p 11 (6) उतमाता च पिपवता जायन्तुर्जीविचरि जा रिपमात्रमपि मदायम ।—ह p 11 (7) अणि ननु दातिप्यसो मय्याम् ।—ह p 11. (8) मल्लामोद यनानुपदिष्टाति

- लोन्वति त्वन्नु नवन्दविदेकिना मनादि ।-ह p. 85. (9) उपदिशन्ति हि विनरमनूरुपप्रतिपत्त्युपादनेन वाचा दिनापि भर्तव्याना स्वामिन ।-ह. p. 134. (10) निसर्गसर्वैरिणी स्वरुच्यनुरोधिनी च भवति हि भृता मति ।-ह. p. 164. (11) उ पनयन्ति हि हृदयमदृष्टमनि जन धीन्प्रवादा ।-ह p. 165-6. (12) प्रतनुगुणप्रादृशाणि वृन्मनादीव हि भवन्ति सता मनादि ।-ह p. 175 (13) य नो मया म्नादयल हतेव भगन्विता । ह p 176. (14) भुवे वीर्यं निवमति न वाचि । ह. p. 187. (15) रुद्रव्यापिनः पद्मभेदनामरुमाना मनोरथाः ।-ह. p. 191. (16) मरुजिज्ञासि प्राप्य तुल्ये लघुप्रवृत्तिरति-मायाति ।-ह p. 191. (17) प्रद्युम्नारुद्रप्रवेशानु भवन्ति धीराणा हृदया-वष्टम्भाः ।-ह p 191. (18) भस्मजनादुरोधविदेयानि तु भवन्ति देवताना मनादि ।-ह. p- 202. (19) लोके हि लोहेभ्यः कठिनतरा बलु म्नेहमया बन्धनपाशा, यदाकृष्टस्तिर्ध्वं चोदयमाचरन्ति ।-ह. p. 251. (20) न हृदयपुष्पभाजा वसुमहत्कुर्वन्ति भवादया ।-ह p. 267. (21) प्रजामिस्तु वधुमन्तो राजानः, न जातिनि ।-ह p. 267. (22) वाम स्वन न भवति न तु श्रावणमप्रियं वचनमरतिहरन्तिर इवाभिजातो जन ।-ह. p-271. (23) दुःखदग्धता च नूतिरमल्यन्ता चाग्रन्ता च निरुपयोगा च भवति ।-ह. p 285. (24) य च निरु शोकः समभिभवति त कमुन्मगावजले गान्धविद । स्त्रियो हि विषयं मुचाम ।-ह p 307. (25) प्रतापसहाया हि उत्पवन्तः ।-ह. p. 312. (26) जडेभि ज्वलन्ति ताडितान्देवग्विन ।-ह p- 328. (27) अतन्वदगिग्यो हि भवन्त्यविदग्धाना यिम् ।-ह p 353 (28) मैत्री च प्रायः कार्यमपेक्षिणी सौगीमूढाम् ।-ह. 384. (29) देवस्य हि पठाति सचिचीपतो बहिरह्यमूढानि धनानि ।-ह. p 384. (30) प्रादग्ध्व जनस्य जनयति मूढबपिदृष्टो मृगमास्वाहम्-ह p- 408 (31) अग्निमनोमादव गुणाः सर्वस्य ।-ह. p. 408. (32) वस्य न प्रतीक्ष्यो मुदिभावः ।-ह. p. 408. (33) भगवती च बंधेऽपि धर्मगृहिणी गरिजापमापादयति प्रवन्ता, कि पुनः भवन्मनोमुपि विदुषि जने ।-ह pp 408-9 (33) ज्योह- सद्यः संयमनपाशः शोचन् अभिजातानाम् ।-ह. p- 417. (34) कल्मकारो हि परमार्यत प्रभवता प्रथमादिपते, रतनादिक्स्तु गिलानारः ।-ह. p- 418. (35) महद्दिनपुन्यदिना न विधायन्ति मज्जने त्वादृशि दृश-ह p 419. (36) विमिव हि दुष्करमक-रानाम् ।-वा. p. 33 (37) प्रायेपाकारपमित्राप्यत्रिकरानाश्रयि च सदा भवन्ति सता चैतानि ।-वा. p. 37 (38) पुण्यानि हि नामधेयान्यपि महा-मुनीनाम् । कि पुनर्देसंगानि । वा p 43. (39) अनायपरिपालन हि वमोऽम्-

7 विरोधभास —(i) 'सनिहित स्निग्धतारका च'—ह p 42 (ii) 'यत्र च प्रमदा'—ह pp 160-1 (iii) 'अपरिमित अद्राक्षीत्'—वा. pp 9-12 (iv) 'अपरिमित पवित्रा'—वा p 20 (v) 'अभिन्व. योवन राजसेवानभिज्ञम्'—का p 31 (vi) 'वनचरोऽपि वामलोचन'—का p 37 (vii) 'महाद्वार विवेश'—p 92 (viii) 'तोषराशि कलुषीकरोति'—का p 105 (ix) का (उ) para 276

■ स्वभावोक्ति —(i) शयनोपजुषि शिशूजने—ह p 132 (ii) vv 5-6—ह pp 152-3.

9 सहोक्ति —(i) का (उ) para 276

10 व्यतिरेक —(i) 'नाम्नैव वासुदेवम्'—का p 5

11 निदक्षमा —(i) 'स खलु आरीपयति'—का p 155

12 परिसह्या —(i) 'अस्मिन्च राजनि विचारा'—ह p 27 (ii) 'यस्मिन्च राजनि आसन्'—वा p 6 (iii) 'यत्र च अधोगति'—का para 37 (iv) 'येषा च धर्मा'—का (उ) p 288

13 बीषक —(i) 'तथा धारयति'—का (उ) p 253

14 मालाबीषक —(i) 'अपि कुसुमधवा'—का (उ) p 290

15 अपह्नुति —(i) 'अथ तस्या कपटमभूत्'—वा p 190 (where we have almost a सदेहसङ्कर or अपह्नुतिs & व्याजोक्तिs).

16 अनुप्रास —(i) 'सकोचोदञ्चदुच्च पट्चरणवक्त्रे'—ह p 22 (ii) 'त्वद्गुणसुखं तारकाम्'—ह p 29 (iii) 'भगवति . भक्तिरभूत्'—ह p 164 (iv) 'सदाफल कोदगता'—ह p 144 (v) 'धाम धर्मस्य'—का p 56 (vi) का para 131

### (Part II) Subhagitas in Bāṇabhaṭṭa's Works

(1) विशुद्धया हि धिया पश्यन्ति कृतबुद्धयः सर्वानर्थान् असत सतो वा ।—ह p 18 (2) निसर्गविरोधिनी चेय पथ पावकयोरिव धम क्रोधयोरेकत्र वसति—ह p 18 (3) क्षमा हि मूल सर्वैतपसाम ।—ह p 18 (4) निष्कारणा च निकारकणिकापि कलुषयति मनस्विनोऽपि मानममसदसज्जनादापतती ।—ह p 23 (5) सतां हि प्रियवदता कुर्विद्या । ह p 41 (6) उत्तमाना च चिरस्तनता जनमत्यन्जीविष्यति जन किय मात्रमपि न दाक्षम ।—ह p 41 (7) अधीण खलु दाक्षिण्यकोशो महताम ।—ह p 41 (8) सलिलानीव गतानुगतिकानि



- लोयानि समु नवन्त्यविवेकिता मनाति ।-ह p. 85. (9) उपदिशन्ति हि  
 विनयमनुस्यप्रतिपत्त्युपपादनेन वाचा विनापि भर्तव्याना स्वामिन । ह. p. 134.  
 (10) निरुगम्यैरिणी स्वद्वन्द्वानुरोधिनी च भवति हि महता मति । ह. p. 164.  
 (11) उपनयन्ति हि हृदयमदृष्टमपि जन शीलमवादा ।-ह p 165 6. (12)  
 प्रनुगुणग्राह्याणि बुसुमानीव हि भवति मता मनासि ।-ह p 175 (13)  
 द नोभ्रणा भलायत्यल सत्तेव मन्त्रित्वा । ह p 176 (14) भुजे वीर्य  
 निवसति न वाचि । ह p 187 (15) बह्वर्थापि पन्मुबेतसामलसामा  
 मनोरथा ।-ह p. 191. (16) सप्तकणिकापि प्राप्य तुल्य रूपप्रहृतिरप्रति-  
 नायाति ।-ह p 191 (17) प्रयुषवारुणवेणामु भवति वीरणा हृदया-  
 वटम्भा ।-ह p 191 (18) यत्तज्जनानुरोधविधेयानि तु भवन्ति देवताना  
 मनाति ।-ह p 202 (19) लोके हि लोहेभ्य कटिगवरा समु स्नेहमया  
 दन्धनपाशा, यदादृष्टाभितं-चो-येदमाचरन्ति ।-ह p 251. (20) न  
 ह्यक्षपुष्पभाजा यदा मलटुर्बन्धि नवाद्वा ।-ह p 267 (21) प्रजाभिस्तु  
 वन्धुमन्तो राजान, न जातिभि ।-ह p 267 (22) काम स्वय न भवति न  
 तु श्रावयत्यप्रिय वचनमरतिकरमितर इवाभिजातो जन ।-ह p 271 (23)  
 हु लक्ष्मणा च भूतिरमलला चाप्रसस्ता च निरुपयाण च भवति । ह p 285.  
 (24) य च तिल शोक समभिभवति त वापुसमाधाय च भवति । ह p 307  
 हि विषय शुचाम ।-ह p 307 (25) प्रतापसहसा हि सत्त्ववत् । त्रिषो  
 p 312 (26) जलेऽपि ज्वलति सान्निध्यादेरग्नि ।-ह p 328 (27)  
 भतस्त्वदशियो हि भवत्यविदग्धाना स्वि ।-ह p 333 (28) मैत्री च  
 प्राय कार्यव्यपेक्षिणी क्षोणीभूताम् ।-ह p 334 (29) दत्तस्य हि यदाति  
 सचिचीयतो बहिरङ्गभूतानि पनानि ।-ह p 334 (30) प्रायमारव जगत्स्य  
 जनयति मुहुदविदुष्टो भूतमादवासम्-ह p 408 (31) विनयमनीयारव गुणाः  
 सर्वस्य ।-ह. 1-408 (32) वरम न प्रीति (32) विनयमनीयारव गुणाः  
 (33) भगवती च वैद्येऽपि धर्मगृहिणी गरिमायुक्ता ।-ह p 408 9 (34) प्रजा, हि पुनः  
 सौजन्यं अभिजातानाम् ।-ह p 417 (35) प्रजा, हि पुनः  
 प्रथमातिगम्य, रत्नादिपरस्तु तिलाभारः ।-ह p 417 (36) प्रजा, हि पुनः  
 न विश्राम्यन्ति सज्जने स्वादि दृष्ट-ह p 417 (37) प्रजा, हि पुनः  
 रणानाम् ।-वा p 33 (37) प्रजा, हि पुनः  
 भवन्ति मता येनाभि ।-वा p 37 (38)  
 मनीनाम् । नि पुनर्दंशनाति । वा p 43



- लोलानि खलु' भवन्त्यविवेकिना मनासि ।-ह p. 85. (9) उपदिशन्ति हि विनयमनुरूपप्रतिपत्त्युपपादनेन वाचा विनापि भर्तव्याना स्वामिनः । ह. p. 134. (10) नितरांस्वैरिणी स्वल्ह्यनुरोधिनी च भवति हि महता मतिः ।-ह. p. 164. (11) उपनयन्ति हि हृदयमदृष्टमणिं जन क्षीरमवादा ।-ह p 165 6. (12) प्रवतुगुणप्राहयाणि वृत्तुमानोऽपि हि भवन्ति सता मनासि ।-ह p. 175 (13) य नोपमणा प्लायत्यल सत्तेव मनरिवता । ह p 176. (14) भुजे धीर्यं निवसति न वाचि । ह. p. 187. (15) अदूरव्यापिनः फल्गुचेतसामलसाना मनोरथाः ।-ह. p. 191. (16) सप्तकणिकापि प्राप्य तुल्यं लघुप्रकृतिरत्नसि-  
मायाति ।-ह p. 191. (17) प्रत्युपकारदुष्प्रवेशामु भवन्ति धीराणा हृदया-  
वष्टम्भा ।-ह p 191 (18) भक्तजनानुरोधविधेयानि तु भवन्ति देवताना मनासि ।-ह. p. 202. (19) लोके हि लोहेभ्यः कठिनतरा खलु स्नेहमया वन्यतपासाः, यदादृष्टास्तिर्बन्धो येनमाचरन्ति ।-ह. p. 261. (20) न ह्यल्पपुण्यभाजा वक्षामलक्ष्मणं भवाद्वा ।-ह p. 267. (21) प्रजाभिस्तु वधुमन्तो राजान, न ज्ञातिभि ।-ह p. 267. (22) काम स्वयं न भवति न तु धावयत्यप्रिय वचनमरतिवरमितर इवाभिजातो जन ।-ह. p-271. (23) दुःखदर्शना च भूतिरमदगला चाग्रनस्ता च निरपयोका च भवति ।-ह p 285. (24) य च किल क्षीवः समभिभवति त कापुरपभाचक्षते शान्तविदः । स्थियो हि विषय शुचाम ।-ह p 307. (25) प्रतापसहाया हि सत्त्ववन्तः ।-ह. p 312. (26) जलेऽपि ज्वलन्ति ताडितास्तेजस्विनः ।-ह p 328. (27) अतत्त्वदर्शिनो हि भवत्यविदग्धाना रिय ।-ह p 353 (28) मनी च प्रायः कार्यव्यपेक्षिणी क्षोणीभूताम् ।-ह. 384. (29) देवस्य हि ययासि सचिर्धीपतो बहिरद्वगभूतानि धनानि ।-ह. p 384. (30) प्रायश्चर्य जनस्य जनयति सुहृदपिदृष्टो भृशमादवासम्-ह p. 408. (31) अभिपमनोयाश्च गुणाः सर्वस्य ।-ह. p. 408 (32) वस्य न प्रतीदयो मुनिभाव ।-ह. p. 408. (33) भगवती च सर्वेऽपि धर्मगृहिणी गरिमाणमापादयति प्रवक्ष्या, किं पुनः सकलमनोमुपि विदुषि जने ।-ह pp. 408 9 (33) अलोह खलु सयमतपान. सोऽन्यं अभिजातानाम् ।-ह. p. 417. (34) अलङ्कारो हि परमाद्यं प्रभवता प्रथयातिताप, रत्नादिवस्तु मिलाभारः ।-ह. p. 418. (35) महद्भिपुण्यं विना न विश्राम्यन्ति सज्जने त्वादृशि दुःख-ह p 419. (36) किमिव हि दुष्करमक-  
ष्टानाम् ।-वा. p. 33. (37) प्रायेणानारणमिश्राभ्यनिकरुणाद्रीणि च सदा भवन्ति सता चेतासि ।-वा. p. 37 (38) पुण्यानि हि नामधृष्टान्यपि महा-  
मूनीनाम् । किं पुनर्दशानानि । वा p 43. (39) अनायपरिपालन हि धर्मोऽस्म-

7. विरोधभास —(i) 'सनिहित.. स्निग्धतारका च'—ह. p. 42 (ii) 'यत्र च...प्रमदाः'—ह. pp. 160-1 (iii) 'अपरिमित... अद्राशीत्'—वा. pp. 9-12 (iv) 'अपरिमित .. पवित्रा'—वा. p. 20 (v) 'अभिनव. योवन .. राजसेवानभिज्ञम्'—वा. p. 31 (vi) 'वनचरोऽपि.. वामलोचन.'—वा. p. 37 (vii) 'महाद्वार.. विवेश'—p. 92 (viii) 'तोषराशि .. बलुपीकरोति'—वा. p. 105 (ix) वा. (उ) para 276

8. स्वभावोक्ति —(i) दायनोपजुपि.. दिसृजने—ह. p. 132 (ii) vv. 5-6—ह. pp. 152-3.

9. सहोक्ति —(i) वा (उ) para 276

10. ध्यतिरेकः—(i) 'नामैव .. वागुदेवम्'—का. p. 5.

11. निदर्शना —(i) 'ग खलु .. आरीपयति'—वा. p. 155.

12 परिसह्या —(i) 'अस्मिच्च राजनि... विचाराः'—ह. p. 27 (ii) 'अस्मिच्च राजनि . आसन्'—वा. p. 6 (iii) 'यत्र च .. अयोगति.'—वा para 37 (iv) 'वेपा च .. धर्माय'—वा (उ) p. 288.

13. शीपक —(i) 'तथा धारयति'—वा. (उ) p. 253.

14. मालाशीपक — (i) 'अपि. कुमुदधन्वा'—वा (उ) p. 290.

15. अपहृन्नुति —(i) 'अथ तस्या .. कपटमभूत्'— वा. p. 190 (where we have almost a सन्देहसङ्कर or अपहृन्नुति & व्याजोक्तिः).

16. अनुप्रास —(i) 'सकोचोदञ्चदुच्च . पट्चरणयक्ते'—ह. p. 22 (ii) 'त्वद्गतुङ्ग . तारकाम्'—ह. p. 29 (iii) 'भगवति...भक्तिरभूत्'—ह. p. 164 (iv) 'सदाफल . बोद्गमाः'—ह. p. 144 (v) 'धाम .. धर्मस्य'—का. p. 56 (vi) का. para 131.

### (Part II) Subhagitas in Bāṇabhaṭṭa's Works

(1) विशुद्धया हि धिया पश्यन्ति कृतबुद्धयः सर्वनिर्यान् असत सतो वा ।—ह. p. 18 (2) निसर्गविरोधिनी ज्ञेयं यमपावकयोरिव धर्मक्रोधयोरेकत्र वृत्तिः ।—ह. p. 18 (3) क्षमा हि मूलं सर्वतपसाम् ।—ह. p. 18 (4) निष्कारणा च निकारकणिकापि कलुषयति मनस्विनोऽपि गानसगसदृशजनादागतंती ।—ह. p. 23. (5) सता हि प्रियवदता कुलविद्या ।—ह. p. 41. (6) उत्तमाना च चिरतनता जनयत्यनुजीविष्यपि जने विद्यमात्रमपि मन्दाक्षम् ।—ह. p. 41. (7) अक्षोण खलु दाक्षिण्यकोजो महताम् ।—ह. p. 41. (8) सलिलानीव गतानुगतिकानि

- लोभानि तल्लु भवन्त्यविवेकिना मनासि ।-ह p. 85 (9) उपदिशन्ति हि  
 वितयमनुरूपप्रतिपत्त्युपपादनेन वाचा विनापि सर्वव्याना स्वाभिन् ।-ह. p. 134.  
 (10) निसर्गस्वैरिणी स्वच्छन्दनुरोधिनी च भवति हि महता मति । ह p. 164.  
 (11) न पश्यन्ति हि हृदयमदृष्टमपि जन शीलमवादा ।-ह p 165 6 (12)  
 प्रतनुगुणग्राह्याणि बुभुमानोव हि भवन्ति सता मनानि ।-ह p 175 (13)  
 य नोत्पन्ना म्हापत्यल रत्नेव मनस्विता । ह p 176 (14) भुञ्जे वीर्यं  
 निवसति न वाचि । ह p. 187. (15) अद्वयव्यापिन. पल्लुचेतसामल्लसना  
 मनोरथा ।-ह. p. 191. (16) सपञ्चगितापि प्राप्य तुलेव लघुप्रकृतिरनति-  
 मयाति ।-ह p. 191. (17) प्रत्युपकारदुष्प्रवेष्टानु भवन्ति धीराणा हृदया-  
 वष्टम्भा ।-ह p 191 (18) भक्तजनानुरोधविधेयानि तु भवन्ति देवताना  
 मनासि ।-ह p. 202 (19) लोदे हि लोहेभ्यः कठिनतरा तल्लु स्नेहमया  
 बन्धनपाशा, यदाहृष्टाग्निर्यद्व्योदयोदमाचरन्ति ।-ह. p. 251. (20) न  
 ह्यरुपपुण्यभाजा दशमल्लभुवन्ति भवान्ना ।-ह p. 267. (21) प्रजाभिस्तु  
 बन्धुगन्तो राजान, न जातिनि ।-ह p 267. (22) काम स्वय न भवति न  
 तु आद्ययमप्रिय वचनमरतिकरमितर इवाभिजातो जन ।-ह. p-271. (23)  
 तु लक्षणाभा च भूतिरमल्लगला चाग्रगता च निरपयोगा च भवन्ति ।-ह p 285.  
 (24) य च निज शोक समभिभवति त कापुष्टमानसते यास्त्रविद । स्त्रियो  
 हि विषय शुचाम ।-ह p 307. (25) प्रतापमहाया हि सत्त्ववस्त ।-ह.  
 p. 312. (26) जलेऽपि ज्वलन्ति ताडितास्तेनरिवन् ।-ह p 328. (27)  
 अतस्त्वदभिन्नो हि भवन्त्यविदग्धाना विद्य ।-ह p 353 (28) मैत्री च  
 प्रायः कार्यव्यपेक्षिणी शोनीभूताम् ।-ह 384. (29) देवस्य हि यद्यासि  
 सचिचौपतो बहिरङ्गभूतानि धनानि ।-ह p 384. (30) प्रायशश्च जनस्य  
 जनयति मूहदविदुष्टो भ्रामात्वासम्-ह p. 408 (31) अभिपमनीयाश्च गुणाः  
 सर्वस्य ।-ह. p. 408 (32) कस्य न प्रतीक्ष्यो मुनिभाव ।-ह p 408.  
 (33) भगवती च वैश्वेऽपि धर्मगृहिणी यरिमाणमापादयति प्रवक्ष्या, किं पुनः  
 सकलग्नोऽपि विदुषि जने ।-ह pp 408 9 (33) अलोह खल्लु सयमनपादा  
 सौजन्यं यमिजातानाम् ।-ह. p 417 (34) अल्लङ्कारो हि परमार्थत प्रभवता -  
 प्रथमानिमाय, रत्नादिनस्तु गिलाभारः ।-ह. p. 418. (35) महद्भिषगुर्ध्वविना  
 न वि श्राम्यन्ति सज्जने त्वादृशि दृश-ह p 419. (36) किमिव हि दुष्करमक-  
 रणानाम् ।-वा p 33 (37) प्रावेपाकारणमित्राप्यतिवर्षणाणि च सदा  
 भवन्ति सता चेनानि ।-वा p. 37 (38) पुण्यानि हि नामग्रहणान्यपि महा-  
 मूनीनाम् । किं पुनर्दर्शनानि । वा p 43. (39) अनाद्यपरिपालन हि धर्मोऽयम्.

द्विधानाम् ।-का. p. 46. (40) जन्मान्तराहं हि वमं वञ्चमुपनयति पुरयत्येह-  
 जन्मनि । न हि शक्यं देवमन्यथा वञ्चमभियुक्तोनापि ।-का. p. 62. (41) पर  
 हि दैवतमुपयः ।-का. p. 62. (42) अमोपपत्ता हि महामुनिमेवा भवति ।-का.  
 p. 62. (43) धर्मपरायणातां हि मदा गमीयगचारित्य वस्तापयन्मदो भवन्ति ।-  
 का. p. 63. (44) आवेदयन्ति हि प्रत्यागमप्रधान-दमयपात्रीनि गुणानि निमि-  
 त्तानि ।-का. p. 65. (45) अविशयपत्राश्च प्रायो निशावगानगमपदृष्टा भवन्ति  
 स्वप्ताः ।-का. p. 65. (46) स्योत्य जाग्रदादो यद्विषद् विरदं संपत्त्य-  
 दमनुपस्थातीति ।-का. p. 73. (47) नष्टपुण्यमात्रो भयाद्गतास्त्रिभुवनविस्मय-  
 हेतवः पुत्रतां प्रतिप्रदन्ते ।-का. p. 96. (48) केचन च निगमंश्च एवामानुमेधम-  
 रत्नालोकोपेधमप्रदीपप्रभापनेधमनिगहनं समो योवाग्रभवम् ।-का. p. 102  
 (49) गर्भेद्वररवपमिनवमोवनस्थमप्रतिमत्तावममानुशक्तित्वं चेति मन्त्रीयं  
 सत्यनर्थपरम्परा ।-का. p. 102-3. (50) गुणदेवराजं नाम पुण्याणामवित-  
 मलप्रशालनशममजलं ज्ञानम् ।-का. p. 103. (51) राज्यविविधकारित्वाप्रदा  
 राज्यलक्ष्मीः ।-का. p. 104. (52) आश्वप्रणापी हि राजा त्रैलोक्यदर्शवि  
 सिद्धादेशो भवति ।-का. p. 110. (53) आम्भृतानां हि बोधानां नियमगनु-  
 भवितव्यं फलमात्मनैव ।-का. p. 121. (54) नास्ति सन्वसाध्यं नाम तप-  
 ताम् ।-का. p. 131. (55) जनयति हि प्रभुप्रसादलबोऽपि प्रागल्भ्यमधीर्यहृते ।-  
 का. p. 134. (56) स्वस्पाप्येकदेशावस्थाने बालकला परिषयमुत्पादयति ।-  
 का. p. 134. (57) अणुरूप्युपचारपरिग्रहं प्रणयमारोपयति ।-का. p. 134.  
 (58) महो दुर्निवारता व्यग्नोपनिष्ठातानां यदीदृशीमप्यावृत्तिगमनिभबनीयामा-  
 र्मीयां कुर्वन्ति ।-का. p. 135. (59) सर्वथा न न वचनं स्पृहाति शरीरप्रमा-  
 णमुपतापा ।-का. p. 135. (60) बलवती हि द्वन्द्वानां प्रवृत्तिः ।-का. p. 135  
 (61) न हृदस्पीयसा शोचकारणेन क्षोत्रीमियन्त एवविधा मूर्तयः ।-का. p. 135  
 (62) न हि सुद्रतिर्पातपाताभिहता चलति वमुधा ।-का. p. 135. (63)  
 बालो हि गुणाश्च दुर्निवारतामारोपयन्ति मदनस्य सर्वथा ।-का. p. 142. (65)  
 अदूरकोपा हि पुनिजनप्रवृत्तिः ।-का. p. 142. (65) प्राणपरित्यागेनापि रक्ष-  
 णीयाः सुहृदसव इति वययामि ।-का. p. 152. (66) मुष्टमपदिश्यते परस्य ।-  
 का. p. 156. (67) सततमतिगहितवृत्त्येनापि रक्षणीयान्मन्यन्ते सुहृदमून्ता-  
 धवः । का. p. 158. (68) आशया हि किमिव हि न विद्यते ।-का. p. 171  
 (69) अचिन्त्यो हि महात्मना प्रभावः । बहुप्रकाराश्च मसारवृत्तयः । चित्रं च  
 दैवम् । आश्चर्यातिशययुक्ताश्च तप सिद्धयः । अनेकविधाश्च धर्मणा शक्तयः ।-  
 का. p. 175 (70) प्रभवति हि भगवान् विधिः । बलवती च नियतिः ।

आत्मेच्छया न शक्यमुच्छ्वसितुमपि । अतिपिप्पुनानि चास्यैकान्तनिष्ठुरस्य दैवहृ-  
 कस्य विलसितानि । न क्षमन्ते दीर्घकालमव्याजरमणीय प्रेम । प्रायेण च निसर्गत  
 एवानायतस्वभावभद्रगुराणि सुखानि, आयतस्वभावानि च दुःखानि । तथा हि  
 कथमप्येवस्मिञ्जन्मनि समागमो जन्मा-त्तरसहस्राणि च विरह प्राणिनाम् ।....  
 आपतन्ति हि ससारपथमतिगहनमवतीर्णानामेते वृत्तान्ता । धीरा हि तरन्त्यामदम् ।—  
 का p. 175. (71) दुःखितमपि जन रमयन्ति सज्जनसमागमा ।— का. p. 181  
 (72) स्नेहलवोऽपि वारिणेव योवनमदेन दूर विस्तार्यते ।— का. p. 199. (73)  
 न ह्यतः परमपर कष्टतर किञ्चिदपि पीडाकारण यद्गुणेषु वर्तमानो दोषेषु सम्मा-  
 न्यत इतरजनेनापि । किं पुनर्गुहजनैः । यो गुणो गुणैरेवाराधनीयः ।— का. (उ) p.  
 287. (74) गुरवो हि दैवत बालानाम् ।— का. (उ) p. 291. (75) ययै-  
 वागिषो गुहजनवितीर्णा वरतामापद्यन्ते तथैवानोशाः शापताम् ।— का. (उ) p.  
 291. (76) स्वयमारोपितेषु तरपु यावदुत्पद्यते स्नेहः । किं पुनरद्भुतसम्भवेष्व-  
 पत्येषु ।— का. (उ) p. 291. (77) राजा कालस्य कारणम् ।— का. (उ) p.  
 294. (78) तपसी हि सम्यक्कृतस्य नास्त्यसाध्य नाम किञ्चित् ।— का. (उ)  
 p. 322 (79) भूत्या अपि त एव ये सपत्तं विपत्तो सविद्येव सेवन्ते ।— का.  
 (उ) p. 329. (80) विधिनिमापर. कोल्यत्रास्ते ।— का. (उ) p. 334.  
 (81) तर्वाभिवाञ्छितप्राप्तिस्तु महतः पुण्यराशेः फलम् ।— का. (उ) p. 334.  
 (82) सुहृदस्तु स्वयं दुःखिता अपि निधानीकृत्यात्मदुःखं सुहृदुःखापनोदनायैव  
 यतन्ते ।— का. (उ) p. 336. (83) श्रुती च पठ्यत एतदादृशाई आपते  
 तादृगेव भवतीति ।— का. (उ) p. 347.

## Appendix B

### ENCOMIA TO BĀNA BY ANCIENTS

- (1) श्रीहर्षं इत्यत्रनिर्वातिषु पार्श्विकेषु  
 नाम्नेव केवलमजायत वस्तुतस्तु ।  
 श्रीहर्ष एव निजससदि येन राज्ञा  
 संपूजित. कनककोटिशतेन बाण ॥  
 बाणस्य हर्षचरिते निशितामुदीक्ष्य  
 रसिन न केज्ज कवितामुमद रयजन्ति ।  
 मान्य न वस्य च कवेरिह कालिदास—  
 बाचा रसेन रसितस्य भवत्ययुष्यम् ॥

- (11) युक्त कादम्बरी ध्रुवा कवयो धीनमायिता ।  
वाणध्वनावनध्यायो भवतीति स्मृतिर्यत ॥  
—सोमेश्वरदेववृत्ती कीर्तिकौमुद्याम् १.१५
- (12) सहर्षचरितारब्धाद्भुतकादम्बरीकथा ।  
वाणस्य वाण्यनार्येव स्वच्छन्दा ममति क्षिती ॥  
( v I सहर्षचरिता सद्वकृतः ) —राजतेश्वरस्य  
( See JBBRAS vol XVII pt. I p 59 )
- (13) कादम्बरीसहोदर्या मुघया वै बुधे हृदि ।  
हर्षास्यायिकया स्याति वाणोऽश्वरिव लब्धवान् ॥ —कस्यापि
- (14) शश्वद्धाणद्वितीयेन नमदाकारधारिणा ।  
धनुषेव गुणादमेन नि शेषो रज्जिनो जन ॥  
—निबिक्कमकृते नलचम्पूग्रन्थे १ १४
- (15) वेचलोऽपि स्फुरवाण कराति विमलान्ववीन् ।  
किं पुनः कल्पसप्तमपुकिन्त्र ( न्द ? ) कृतसन्निधि ॥  
—धनपालकृताया तिलकमञ्जरीम् श्लो २६
- (16) सुवन्धुर्वाणभट्टश्च कविराज इति जय ।  
बन्धोविनमार्गनिपुणाश्चतुर्थो विद्यते न वा ॥ —रायवपाण्डवीये १.४१
- (17) यस्याश्चौरश्चिकुरनिकर कर्णपूरो मयूरो  
भारो हास मन्त्रिकुलपुत्र नालिदासो विलास ।  
हर्षो हर्षो हृदयवसति पञ्चवाणस्तु वाण  
केपा नपा कथय कविताकामिनी कौतुकाय ॥  
—जयदेवकृते प्रसन्नरायवे
- (18) प्रतिकविभेदनवाणः कवितातरुगहनविहरणमयूर ।  
सहृदयलोऽसुवन्धुर्जयति श्रीभट्टवाणकविराज ॥  
—वीरनारायणचरिते
- (19) सचित्रवर्णविच्छित्तिहारिणोऽखनीपति ।  
श्रीहप इव सधट्ट चक्रे वाणमयूरयो ॥  
—नबसाहसाङ्के
- (20) शब्दार्थयो समो गुम्फ पाञ्चाली रीतिरिष्यते ।  
शीलामट्टारिकापि वाणोक्तिपु च सा यदि ॥  
( v I शिलामट्टारिका० in c, ०मा मता in d )  
—सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणे



- (21) दण्डीत्युपस्थिते सद्य कवीना कम्पता मन ।  
प्रविष्ट त्वन्तर वाण कण्ठ बागव रुध्यते ॥ —कस्यापि
- (22) मेण्ठ स्वाद्विरदाधिरोहिणि वग याते सुवधौ विद्य ।  
शानो हन्त च भारवौ विपटिते वाण विषादस्पृग ॥ —श्रीकण्ठचरिते
- (23) In the Paṭcatantra of Durgasimha composed in Kannada in the 11th century A D it is said that Bapa was styled कविचक्रवर्तिन् by ह्य Vide Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik for 1928 p 255 et p 257

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